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NATIONAL REVIEW

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June 19, 1962

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

"EUROPE *from the Atlantic to the* URALS"

DE GAULLE'S COMING BREAK WITH THE WEST

By JACQUES SOUSTELLE

former Vice Premier of France

Articles and Reviews by . . . NATHANIEL WEYL
HENRY HAZLITT · WILL HERBERG · THOMAS MOLNAR
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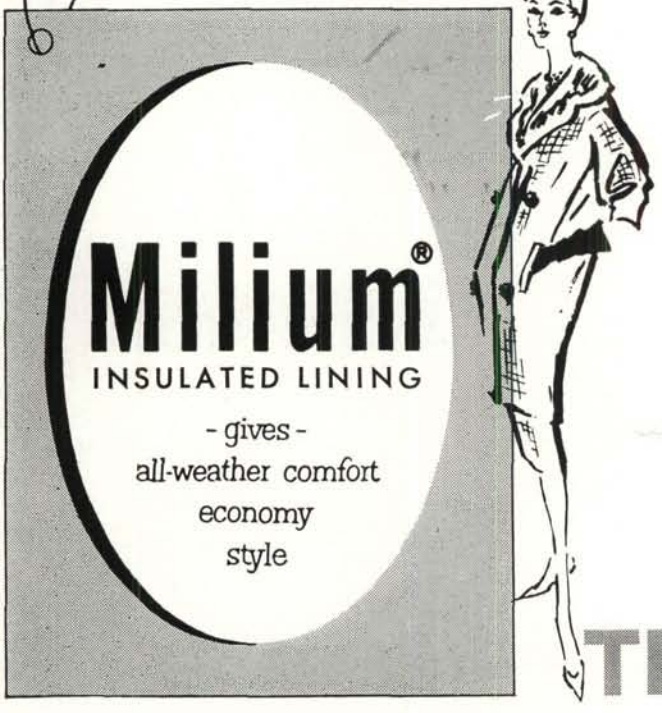

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ We feature a stirring and alarming report by **Jacques Soustelle** on the policies of his old friend and colleague, Charles de Gaulle. Soustelle left de Gaulle in 1959, having served him as deputy premier, and before that, for many years, as his principal coadjutor. Soustelle's eloquence and tenacity are known to all who have ever opposed him: the fascists, the Nazis, the Communists—and now de Gaulle. By profession he is an anthropologist, who has written superbly in that field. Now he is somewhere in Europe, and his voice, and message, are coming through loud and clear.

➔ Professor **Will Herberg** concludes his learned essay on the bearing of the natural law on Liberal and conservative thought during the present century. It was those who believed in a natural law, he observes, who reacted most swiftly and conclusively against Hitler during the thirties. . . **Cato** describes, among other things, the intricate maneuverings by which Washington seeks to turn West New Guinea over to Garibaldi Sukarno, the father of his people, and his people, it turns out, are *everywhere*. . . . **James Burnham** observes, and draws conclusions from, the resilience of the Communists everywhere in the world: nowhere are they ever decisively beaten. Why? He gives the answer. . . . **Russell Kirk** suggests that students who wish to sit-in, do so against dull and routinized professors.

➔ **Nathaniel Weyl** reviews two books on the ordeal of Negro Africa. Both are informative books, but one breaks away from the sentimentalities of Wilsonian Liberalism and speaks about reality. The authors of *White Settlers in Tropical Africa* (Professors L. H. Gann and P. Duignan) have written for NATIONAL REVIEW. . . . **Jim Brosnan** is, of all things, a baseball player (Cincinnati Reds) and, of all things, an industrious author *(The Long Season)*. He writes searchingly on two recent books about baseball. . . . **Henry Hazlitt** wrote an extended study of Keynes *(The Failure of the "New Economics")* several years ago, and writes now about the response to that book by the academic press. Conclusion: Many professors cannot read or understand. . . . And **Thomas Molnar** has seen, and recommends you do too, the movie *Last Year at Marienbad.*

➔ The poet, **John Peyton Dewey,** is from Dallas, Texas. A sample of his work appears alongside three poems by **Joseph Joel Keith,** who has published, read, and broadcast widely. We are informed by Hugh Kenner that the offerings here are "syllabics, *i.e.*, length of the line is governed by a count of syllables, not of stresses, which makes for subtle tension between speech-rhythms and formal considerations; this subtle tension in turn, suspending the imagination elusively between speech and something more formal than speech, suits with his sympathy for people in elusive states of being. None of his subjects is quite in the world nor quite out of it." Wish *we* could do that ➔

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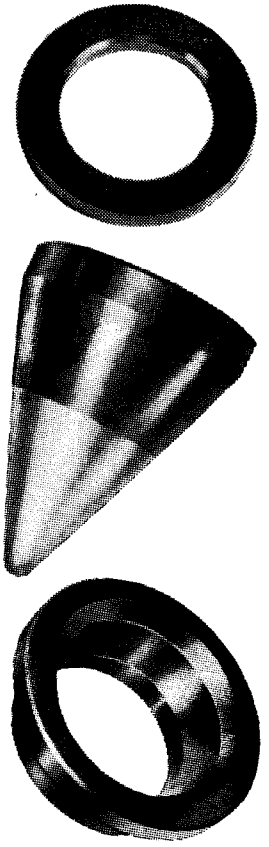

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The WEEK

● A small group of American expatriates (read: turncoats) in Cuba, calling themselves North American Friends of Cuba, has been propagandizing for the Castro regime on the radio. All the members share, for public consumption at least, the views that there is more liberty in Cuba than in the U.S., and that the real story of the Castro revolution has not been told. The first view is perhaps a wee bit exaggerated, and there is nothing they can do about it anyway; but think of their opportunity to tell the *real* revolutionary story (which, one must agree, sorely wants telling): their transmitters may be weak, but their audience will be held captivated.

● POLITICS: Joe Shell ran a fine campaign in California, full of life and purpose. Richard Nixon won: we trust he will make it possible for all conservatives to back him. . . . State Senator John Lupton lost to Liberal Republican John Alsop in the Connecticut gubernatorial race, but was chosen to run as congressman-at-large by acclamation. . . . John Davis Lodge, who lost to Rep. Seely Brown in the senatorial race, has the votes to force a primary, and we hope he will. . . . And fine news that his friends and supporters persuaded Walter Judd to change his mind, and run again for Congress.

● New York's Conservative Party may announce its candidates for the 1962 elections for governor and senator before the next issue of NATIONAL REVIEW hits the presses. Meanwhile new members continue to join up, public interest (as opposed to official blackout) grows apace, and a network of conservative clubs is forming throughout the state. The Conservative Party would make its mark on New York politics if it were only a symbolic protest. From early indications it is likely to be much more than that.

● In Texas, neither sure-enough Liberals nor sure-enough conservatives can stand a Lyndon Johnson Democrat. Which is why John Connally, who is one, and who, riding the Johnson machine, was supposed to be a shoo-in for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, won by such a narrow margin over Liberal Don Yarborough in the recent run-off. The Liberals, of course, supported their Liberal candidate; so Connally, who is in the middle somewhere, held himself up as a conservative. But with no success: conservative Democrats, confronted with half a loaf or none, chose to support the Liberal, clearly repudiating Connally with the intention of supporting conservative Republican Jack Cox in the fall election, and clearly feeling that Yarborough would be easier for Cox to defeat. With the Connally victory, it is the Liberals who have been left without a candidate, and the feeling is that many will rebel against the middle and give their votes to the conservative, Cox, as they did to send John Tower to the Senate. Connally, then, is faced with a dilemma: if he courts the Liberals, who already have declared against him, he risks much to gain little; if he courts the conservatives, he will lose the Left with little hope of gaining on the Right, because conservatives like Cox much better. It should be fun in November.

● Representative Robert R. Barry (R., N.Y.), having returned from a tour of Southeast Asia, has informed his constituents of the policies he will adopt: 1) Revision of the SEATO Charter so that one dissenting vote doesn't nullify the will of all other members; or, failing that, formation of a new alliance with Asian countries seriously bent on staying free; 2) creation of a mobile military force, with units from each treaty nation, to be stationed in Bangkok for immediate response to any guerrilla action; 3) to that end, creation of helicopter squadrons; 4) unified command in Bangkok. Barry rests his proposals on two major observations of recent events: 1) "indecision, delay and compromise will, sooner or later, lead to total defeat"; 2) "action taken in advance to assist an ally not yet under attack, and to make known in no uncertain terms our intention to support that ally, may be able to prevent a large scale attack from ever beginning." Barry is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Long may he serve!

● What was most notable about the hanging of Adolf Eichmann was its lack of public resonance. The earlier intense and often passionate discussion over Israel's handling of the case was nowhere revived. It was as if Eichmann as an individual had long ago ceased to exist. Many felt what the great Jewish philosopher and theologian, Martin Buber, expressed in the only published commentary that was in any manner distinguished: "I . . . have only in a formal sense a common humanity with those who took part in this action of extermination. They have so radically removed themselves from the human sphere . . . that not even hatred, much less an overcoming of hatred, was able to arise in me." Nevertheless, Dr. Buber believes that in executing Eichmann, Israel made "a mistake of historical dimensions . . . Israel's role should have been that of accuser, and not of judge." He arrives at this conclusion in terms of a basic conviction of his general philosophy: that the world in our time is approaching a final struggle between "human" and "anti-human" man. The hanging of Eichmann, by seeming to balance and expiate a

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guilt that has acted as an obstacle to the growth of the anti-human forces, may release and strengthen these for the struggle ahead.

● Economic soothsayers are fond of predicting prosperity as a result of rising population ("the baby boom of the 1950s means a soaring GNP in the 1970s"). However, the thesis collapses in places where the baby boom rises to luxuriant levels—in India, for example, or Puerto Rico. Now along comes an important study, "The American Baby Boom in Historical Perspective," by Richard A. Easterlin of the National Bureau of Economic Research (261 Madison, NYC 16), which argues the opposite thesis, and with impressive documentation, that the birth rate tends to rise as a result of a strong market demand for workers. The study is available for $1 from the National Bureau, and should be perused by anyone who's interested in the population problems.

● A recent United Nations communiqué announced that President Moise Tshombe of Katanga had agreed to integrate his armed forces into the Congolese army. Tshombe himself, however, has made no such announcement, nor has he made one jointly with Congolese Prime Minister Adoula; nor could he be expected to renounce so blandly all that he has been fighting for during the past year. Perhaps the fact—broadcast by the Congolese Foreign Minister—that Tshombe in Léopoldville has not been permitted freedom of movement or allowed to speak with anyone, could account for his abrupt surrender. Perhaps if the UN releases him, we will find out whether Tshombe is so obligingly quiescent.

● "These children are being cheated," shrieked the title of a sensational feature article in the April *Journal* of the National Education Association. It was a picture story of rundown, unpainted, overcrowded schools, a documentary to the crying need for immediate federal aid to education. Except for one omission which touched off an alarum in the suspicious minds of the Republican Congressional Committee—none of the schools was identified. Well, it seems that Mildred Fenner, editor of the *Journal* had, somehow, misplaced the caption material. When she finally did remember the location of the schools it turned out that three of them in Carter County, Tennessee are, at the moment, being replaced with modern, up-to-date schools (built without benefit of federal aid, thank you) as are—it also turned out—all the other rundown schools depicted. When NEA lobbyist Dr. John Lumley was asked why only one side of the story had been told in the article, he retorted with a splendid affirmation of that academic freedom for which the NEA is so justly noted: "To us, there is only one side."

● On Getting This Here Country To Moving Again: The Secret Service has announced that during the first year of President Kennedy's term the number of "threatening, obscene, or abusive" communications received at the White House increased 52 per cent.

● JFK, WHO IS THE REAL SOB? said the sign John Peters put on the marquee over his plumbing supply shop in Omaha. Well, sir, no sooner said than arrested, for along came the City Sign Inspector (no fooling) with a couple of complaints and a warrant charging Peters with displaying objectionable signs. As soon as he was released on bond, Peters went back and put JFK, WHO IS THE REAL SOB? on the other side of the marquee, too. His lawyer argued that if it was all right for the President to use the term about businessmen, it's certainly all right for Peters to use it, and the judge dismissed the case. By the way, after everybody stopped laughing, Peters changed it to: JFK—IS HE REALLY OFF HIS ROCKER?

● *Food for Thought*: The May 18 issue of *Time* magazine reports on learning through ingestion: "[Dr. McConnell] . . . chopped up some well-trained worms and fed the pieces . . . to un-schooled animals. The cannibals learned by eating: when they went to light-and-shock-school, they proved to be flatworm prodigies; they learned twice as fast as cannibal worms fed on uneducated meat." Let the carping cease: once more science comes to the support of ancient folk beliefs. What simpler way to bring the Congolese into the twentieth century than to permit them a reasonable diet of missionaries?

● A year ago Francis Russell, critic and historian (and frequent NATIONAL REVIEW contributor) wrote an article on the Sacco-Vanzetti case, which had been for him a lifelong interest. He reiterated his conviction that, though the trial had not been deliberately unfair, both Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were innocent of the murder of Alessandro Berardelli, for which they were condemned and finally executed. Since then, as final confirmation for a book on the case that he had been writing for four years, Russell located the two pistols and the murder bullets figuring in the trial. They had been taken home as souvenirs by a retiring police captain, since "nobody was interested any more." Two firearms experts—Jac Weller, honorary curator of the West Point Museum, and Col. Frank Jury, former chief of the New Jersey State Police firearms laboratory—tested the weapons by new ballistic techniques not known at the time of the trial. The experts proved that the death bullet came from Sacco's gun. A great many persons, for whom the Sacco-Vanzetti case has been a determining ideological fulcrum, are now to be heard from. Presidential aide Arthur Schlesinger

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Jr., who has rested his case for Sacco's innocence on the lack of link between the pistol and the crime, might lead off.

● The uses of central political authority have all along fascinated American Liberals, and some of them have wound their way into a statist mystique whose similarities to theoretical fascism are very much worth remarking, and indeed have recently engaged the attention of an adroit and inquisitive journalist, Mr. Richard Wheeler of the *Phoenix Gazette*. He has written down his researches in a fascinating article, "Lead Us Not Into Temptation," for *Insight and Outlook*, the journal of conservative opinion of the University of Wisconsin. A free copy is available. Write to 2545 University Ave., Madison 5, Wisconsin.

Erratum: It was the Centro (not Casa) di Vita Italiana (Via Acciaioli 7) which invited rightist thinkers and writers to a conference in Rome several weeks ago. Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, who reported on the meeting (*NR*, June 5), attributes the confusion to difficulties with a) Italian phones and b) Italian wines.

The Wandering of the People

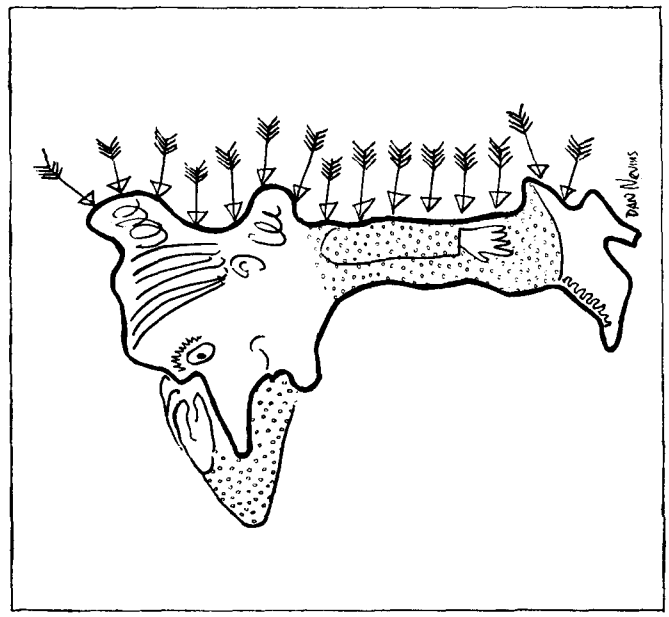
If the twentieth century becomes known in history as the century of dictatorships, its claim to that title will be measured partly by the chaos and lamentation that always arise out of peoples who are oppressed. In their departures from their homes, in their wanderings in search of peace, will our sad time be measured.

Future historians will study the enormous migration from Communist Germany to Free Germany, which has numbered some three million people now, and still continues, at a rate slowed by armed guards, but with a meaning ever heightened, for those who now make the attempt have chosen to risk death to escape their masters.

Some 300,000 have fled from Cuba, and that migration continues daily, as the leaden inhumanity of the Castro regime reaches intolerable proportions.

From Communist China they steal away at night in small boats toward the fresh air of Taiwan and Quemoy, and over the years some 1,500,000 have preferred the crush and competition of freedom in Hong Kong to the horror of life and death on the Communist mainland, and this migration continues.

Thousands streaming out of Communist Tibet; hundreds of thousands of Europeans and some non-Europeans leaving an Algeria that is falling swiftly into the shadow; a reverse migration from Morocco to Algeria; the deferred migration of Arabs from Israel; the internal migrations of colonists homeward



Frontiersman Harriman in Laos: "I can't see a thing, John!"

from the outposts where they had attempted to plant the seeds of civilization—from Ghana, British Guiana, Congo, Indonesia, the Rhodesias, Kenya.

Physicians fleeing the rot of Britain's national health system; average families fleeing the barbarity of large American cities; elderly couples fleeing from districts with intolerable school taxes . . .

Pascal laid men's troubles to their inability to sit quietly in their rooms. He did not know the modern room, which has neither privacy nor a lock on the door; and he did not dream of swarms of demons in his philosophy. Some say our century is a triumph of science. That is opinion. Surely it is an epoch of colossal misery. That is a fact, concerning which it behooves us to ponder deeply, and humbly.

Notes Toward a Tax Policy

Spurred by a listless economy, gloomy stock market, diminishing gold supply, continuing unemployment, declining capital investment, and ignited public opinion, the Administration and the Congress have begun to discuss federal tax policy.

Various suggestions are current: to reduce the tax rates, to revise the whole tax code, increase depreciation allowances, give a tax credit for a portion of new investment, withhold taxes on dividends and interest, and so on.

The most important element in the discussion is that it involves a repudiation of the premise on which our "progressive" rate schedule was founded: the idea that an extra dollar earned by an affluent citizen might be hoarded, and that the government should tax it away at confiscatory rates and distribute it to the populace at large in order to "create demand."

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It is now generally assumed that this process, which has accelerated over the last few decades, has merely taken funds away from investment in facilities that provide jobs and given them to those who use them to buy current production at higher prices. This shift in opinion, at official levels, promises much.

Setting aside the various technical proposals, let us note a few general aspects of the discussion. 1) the "progressive" rates levy increased taxation on every wage rise; continued inflation, coupled with the present tax rate schedule, will lead finally to general confiscation of the major part of every income. 2) Confiscation of all incomes over $25,000 would not even balance the federal budget for fiscal 1963. 3) Increased taxation of the lower-income group is politically impossible. 4) Further complication of the tax laws will only shift burdens and make the laws more incomprehensible.

Yet the means must be found to increase tax revenue, reduce tax rates, provide incentives to extra effort, and simplify the tax laws.

All of these goals can be secured through the simple step of reducing the percentage rates by a constant percentage. Say, 25 per cent off each bracket: 91 per cent goes down to 68, 20 per cent goes down to 15.

This will result in a temporary reduction in tax revenues, but it will release new funds into investment, shift funds from tax-exempt to taxable sources, channel human effort from tax avoidance into the search for income (which is the search for production)—and, if we are to judge from the experience of other countries (and our own country, in earlier days) within a very short time the reduced tax *rates* will bring increased tax *revenues*. Goals one, two and three will have been met, with utmost simplicity and immediacy. How about goal four, tax simplification?

By definition, the lower the tax rate, the less important it is to try to make a dollar escape taxation. *Every reduction in tax rate is an automatic simplification of the tax law.* When the tax rate is 91 per cent, you search for loopholes. When the rate is 1 per cent, you pay the tax without even examining the arithmetic, for your time is better spent searching for new sources of production and income.

Increased revenues, increased production and growth of the economy, simplified tax law, streamlined administration, all these desirable goals can be attained overnight by the simple step of proportional reductions in tax rates. All it takes is an act of will in Washington, and the scratch of a pen. As to this Administration's getting the country moving, it will do so by itself, if unshackled.

Prosperity Is Just Around the Corner

Well, Wrigley's down, and Henry Ford
Is muttering: "Misericord!"
They're selling more and buying less
Of Lorillard. DuPont's a mess.
And as for the doughty of IBM,
The less, the better said of them, ahem,
The props are out of Polaroid:
The rails are reeling down a void . . .
Which brings me to a phrase that Jack
First used (I think) in Hackensack;
Of getting people "on the move"
And getting business in the groove.
The only thing I *didn't* know
Was which way JFK would go!
However, now the order's clear:
We're marching quickly to the rear.

W. H. VON DREELE
(with italicized interpolations by NR*)*

UN Bear Market

Don't think that Wall Street is the only place having its financial troubles these days. Take a look at the Glass House on 43rd Street.

For its "emergency costs" (Gaza strip and Congo expeditionary forces) outside the regular budgets, the UN is going deeper into the hole at the rate of more than $20 million a month. In December the Secretariat estimated that the debt would reach $170 million at the end of June (*i.e.*, this month). The theoretically segregated special accounts (Childrens' Fund, Special Fund for Economic Development) have been drained of their cash balances by "internal borrowing." The UN owes the United States nearly $50 million for transport, equipment, etc., not to speak of the things the U.S. has given free—and counter to the constitutional injunction that "no money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law." Tens of millions are owed to other nations for hundreds of items, including the cost of extra pay for troops, material and wear on equipment.

Thus, even if the UN had managed to sell the entire $200 million bond issue that was supposed to put its finances on a permanently sound basis, it would still run out of the entire amount by midsummer merely by paying up for past and current running expenses, and would have to start borrowing again—against what, nobody knows. But in fact, although purchase of some $65 million of bonds has been pledged (subject in most cases to parliamentary nonaction), only $6 million worth has actually been bought (by Sweden and Norway)—and the money instantaneously spent, of course. Moreover, the Sixteenth Assembly did not vote or authorize any

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"emergency costs" beyond June 30, apparently on the utopian presumption that enough bonds would be sold by then to pay expenses until the next Assembly meeting in October. It follows that after June 30 any payments for the Gaza or Congo operations will be illegal even by the UN's flexible notions of legality.

Meanwhile the bill to authorize United States purchase of $25 million of the bonds, with further matching purchases up to another $75 million, languishes in a committee of a House of Representatives far from anxious to approve such a fiscal absurdity.

It's too bad there's no market where you can sell those UN bonds short.

Last Week in Korea

Seoul, May 28

Most Americans are gloomily convinced that the rest of the non-Communist world is at best only half-heartedly opposed to Communism. Maybe the South Africans would fight in a pinch; but the Italians? the Argentines? the Danes? Cut off the steady flow of the Almighty Dollar and they would settle with Khrushchev overnight . . . or so we morosely tend to suppose.

Such cynicism is often wide of the mark. Consider the recent meeting of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League in Seoul, Korea. Convened at the special request of the Korean chapter, delegates and observers from almost every non-Communist nation in Asia met for six days of serious palaver, and climaxed their conference by deciding to establish near Seoul a Freedom Center of the APACL: a permanent institute to conduct anti-Communist research and train anti-Communists for tough and effective action against such Communist-dominated organizations as Japan's street-brawling Zengakuren.

To an American observer, the passionate anti-Communism of the delegates seemed in strange contrast to the ambivalent actions of his own government in (for example) Laos. Many Asians whose lands border the Iron Curtain regard America's foreign policy as incredibly listless. But they are resigned to the phenomenon, and even understanding. "After all," one young Korean suggested tolerantly, "you have not had our experiences with the Communists."

W.A.R.

'He Shall Not Be Heard': The Anti-Defamation League

We wrote in the last issue of the "impending smear of Fred Schwarz," and sure enough it has impended. People in New York are going crazy trying to discredit Dr. Schwarz—unfortunately, without any help whatsoever from him, who remains innocent of every charge being leveled against him. The principal source of the campaign against him appears to be, as we predicted, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which though it has failed to find a scintilla of evidence suggesting that Dr. Schwarz is anti-Semitic, is doing its level best to win converts to anti-Semitism—by arrogantly speaking, as if in the name of New York Jewry, a series of filthy and defamatory lies about him, his purposes, and his integrity.

Israel Moss, director of the League, is quoted by the *Herald Tribune* as saying that the American people "have no need for the rantings of the extreme Right, the latter-day professional anti-Communists who charge as much as $250 for admission to a Madison Square Garden rally." A dollar will get you ten that Dr. Schwarz gets paid less than Moss does. The one devotes his life to spreading truths about the Communist movement; the other, if his statement as quoted by the *Tribune* is any example, makes a career out of spreading defamatory statements under the auspices of an Anti-Defamation League. Mr. Moss doesn't trouble, for instance, to say that the $250 is for a sponsors' box, seating 18, not one seat (the bulk of which are available at $1.00); that Dr. Schwarz's entire campaign is based on voluntary

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contributions; that the government, having examined Dr. Schwarz's records, has officially ruled that contributions to his movement are, because his movement is educational in nature, tax-exempt; that the officers of the Anti-Defamation League are no pikers at raising great sums of dough at dinners where you pay a hundred dollars for a piece of chicken and hours of oratory about toleration; and that in any case, it is better to be a professional anti-Communist (by the way, aren't the directors of the CIA and the FBI—and the Joint Chiefs, for that matter—also professional anti-Communists?) than a professional defamer.

Next day, IGNORE SCHWARZ RALLY/J.W.V.C.O. ASKS. Nathan Mironov, county commander of the Jewish War Veterans, speaks in New Jersey: "Dr. Schwarz may garb himself as a lamb and claim that his organization is only an innocent educational institution, but Americans who have followed his activities know better," says Mironov darkly. "The tenor of Dr. Schwarz's schools has been to carry on where McCarthyism left off, making irresponsible denunciations of innocent individuals." Mironov can't *stand* irresponsible denunciations of innocent individuals, and anyone who disagrees with him is a fascist and an anti-Semite.

Next day. The Grand Wizard speaks, the same Arnold Forster, ADL's principal spokesman, who refused to meet with Dr. Schwarz when Schwarz asked for a meeting at which he might answer any questions Mr. Forster or his colleagues cared to put to him about his background, campaign and tactics. Mr. Forster, reports the *Tribune,* "told of an effort by Dr. Schwarz to get the Anti-Defamation League to hold a 'formal hearing' to prove that Dr. Schwarz was not anti-Jewish . . . Mr. Forster refused the request because 'we will not permit ourselves to be used in this way.' " What way *is* the Anti-Defamation League supposed to be used, if not to prevent and expose defamations, or get to the bottom of charges that defamations are being committed?

"His program [Forster went on] calls for U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations [false]. It condemns our effective anti-Communist programs [false] such as the Alliance for Progress [false]. It confuses many Americans by offering inane, meaningless black-and-white solutions to our most complicated problems of survival [false]. It would have Americans stand by, mute and disorganized, each man searching for Communists at home, while international Communism capitalizes the distress and starvation of the world [false]."

Mr. Arnold Forster has never given any evidence that he knows anything worth passing along about Communism, and in our lives, we can't think of anyone who turned to any of his books or pamphlets for knowledge about Communism. Dr. Schwarz, by contrast, has instilled in thousands and thousands of Americans the desire to learn something more about the enemy which continues to press successfully a war against us. "The radical Right," Mr. Forster concluded, "is not doing a very good job at fighting Communism, but is doing a damnably effective job of preaching disunity among Americans and stimulating attacks on [our] basic institutions . . ." We don't know how Dr. Schwarz is feeling—he is much more saintly than we are—but we think it's time for a little disunity concerning the proposition that the people who run the Anti-Defamation League, a basic institution in these parts, care a hang for freedom of speech and assembly, or freedom from defamation.

Notes and Asides

Dinwiddie's After Us

Do you remember the Hughes case? No, you are too young, children; it happened way back in 1956, and was one of those cases least likely to be memorialized in Establishment history books, or even psychiatry books, because some very important people have been made to look very silly indeed. NATIONAL REVIEW gave the case generous coverage, however, and the story also occupies a chapter in *Up From Liberalism,* by Wm. F. Buckley Jr. The story is too long to retell, but recently Mr. Buckley alluded to it in a review he was asked to write for *Harper's* (July issue) of Richard Rovere's new book *The American Establishment. Anyway,* his manuscript contained the sentence, "The word conspiracy, at another level, has a highly pejorative meaning, spelled out in the definition (Oxford's) 'To combine . . . to do something criminal, illegal, or reprehensible.' . . . It *is* reprehensible for Joseph L. Rauh Jr. (ADA) and Al Friendly (*Washington Post*) and Clayton Fritchey (*Democratic Digest*) to retain a secret informer in an attempt to penetrate a congressional committee." And what do you know, the lawyers for *Harper's* wondered whether that's libelous. So they call Al Friendly (alias "Dinwiddie," in the Hughes saga) and ask *him,* and Al says "That's *outrageous!* Of *course* it's libelous!" And Mr. Buckley said to *Harper's,* But-but-but it isn't libelous at all, that's exactly what the gentlemen did! But *Harper's* wouldn't print it in that form, because *Harper's* is afraid of being sued, so NATIONAL REVIEW said: "*Harper's,* we haven't got your kind of dough, and every penny of ours is worth a lot to us, but we're not going to let bully-boy Al rewrite history by brandishing his lawyers every time someone writes the unpleasant truth about him and his friends."

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So: It *is* reprehensible for Joseph L. Rauh Jr. (ADA) and Al Friendly (*Washington Post*) and Clayton Fritchey (*Democratic Digest*) to retain a secret informer in an attempt to penetrate a congressional committee.

Come and get us, Al. We're all set for you.

. . . *and the New Republic*

The *New Republic* has published an extended two-part attack on NATIONAL REVIEW and the American Right which is remarkable in many ways, but most notably for its utter tediousness. (It's really bad when you have to *force* yourself to finish reading a piece about yourself!) Its author is Mr. Irving Brant, a productive student of James Madison. On the subject of politics and world affairs he is super-hysterical (American teachers are "numbed by fear"), paranoid ("the actual target" of the American Right "will be the present one—the American Liberals . . ."), scurrilous (the Right "has adopted the tactics of Goebbels and Vishinsky"), darkly conspiratorial ("NATIONAL REVIEW . . . devotes far more space to American foreign policy than to domestic affairs, but the overseas deployment is purely tactical . . ."), stylistically gross ("If they could do all they talk of doing, our American society of free men would be trampled to death under a ponderous process of troglodytes mounted on pachyderms"). Its logic is obtuse, solecistic, self-contradictory, and otherworldly.

The most remarkable thing about Mr. Brant's embarrassingly stupid gallimaufry is that the *New Republic,* which normally adheres to *some* standards, should have published it, nay, have given it so much prominence. If the Liberals can't find someone brighter than Mr. Irving Brant to attack us, they should consult us, and we'll give them a few leads. If absolutely necessary, out of a sense of professional solidarity we'll do the job ourselves.

* * *

The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW would be most grateful to their critics if they would coordinate their attacks upon us so that they do not fall too thickly at any particular time, causing congestion. Anyone applying will be instantly allotted a minimum of one paragraph all to himself, and a maximum of two editorial pages, depending on the applicant's rank (applications will be handled without reference to race, color or creed). We regret that this week we did not have room for all our detractors. Next week is reserved for the Rev. Albert J. Nevins of Maryknoll Missions ("NATIONAL REVIEW," he has bewailed, "is more authoritative than the New Testament"—surely an exaggeration), and Rabbi Roland Gittelsohn of Temple Israel, Roxbury, Mass. (NATIONAL REVIEW bears no relationship to "such genuine conservatives as Walter Lippmann, Nelson Rockefeller or Leverett Saltonstall"—a plain and simple truth.)

For the Record

Vladimir Nabokov (Lolita, Pale Fire), who saw by the papers that he would be a participant at Edinburgh International Writers' Conference, publicly demanded that his name be dropped when he noted that Ilya Ehrenburg, Bertrand Russell, J-P. Sartre "with whom I would not consent to participate in any festival or conference whatsoever" were listed as fellow guests. . . . Ivan Spiridonov, first to propose that Stalin's body be removed from Red Square mausoleum, has been dropped from Central Secretariat of Soviet CP. . . . Nation Française reveals secret order by Minister of Algerian Affairs Louis Joxe forbidding French authorities in Algeria to allow the harkis (native troops who fought with France against the FLN) to emigrate to France—although many already have been murdered by Algerian nationalists. . . . Algerian Information Minister Mohamed Yazid has told Iron Curtain reporters that the FLN will establish its "own socialism"; institute immediate land reforms; bar France from testing A-bombs in Sahara; throw out NATO bases.

Washington (state) conservatives enthusiastic over prospects that Edgar Eisenhower may be persuaded to run for Senate against Warren Magnusen.

Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers last month reversed itself and adopted resolution opposing federal aid to education. . . . Georgetown University establishing Center for Strategic Studies, to be headed by Adm. Arleigh Burke. . . . Burke, Eugene Lyons, Herbert Philbrick will be speakers at massive Fred Schwarz anti-Communism rally in New York's Madison Square Garden, June 28. Arrangements are being made for admission of students and youth groups free. . . . Six day summer school for Advancement of Economic Understanding, run by Tuller Foundation (P.O. Box 431, Red Bank, N.J.), gets underway at Princeton next week, June 18. Among the speakers: Lemuel Boulware, Lawrence Fertig, Anthony Bouscaren.

Graduation nuggets: Bob Hope, at Georgetown University: "My advice to young people going out into the world is: don't." Francis Plimpton (a U.S., UN delegate) to graduating class at Smith: "Join the DAR as well as the League of Women Voters."

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From Washington Straight

CATO

It is beginning to look as if Medicare, which the Kennedy Administration believed to be the issue which would carry the Democrats to victory in the 1962 congressional elections, is a political bust. The Administration strategy was built around the assumption that this issue could be raised to fever pitch prior to the November elections. Then, if Medicare got through both Houses of Congress, the voters could be expected to register their thanks by electing large numbers of Democrats. If Medicare failed, so the thinking went, the Administration would have a red-hot issue to take to the voters. Republicans would be blamed for obstructing passage of the bill and the voters, aroused by the GOP's indifference to the plight of our "senior citizens" (ghastly phrase), would banish them from the political scene.

Cato

But it hasn't worked that way.

Despite months of intensive drum beating, the voters' temperature regarding this issue has remained at a normal 98.6 degrees. The nationwide rallies, spearheaded by the President's appearance in Madison Square Garden, were to have been the highpoint of the Medicare Campaign. They not only flopped—although the Garden was filled, a number of other rallies had to be cancelled and none of the others drew much in the way of a crowd—but, as is now becoming apparent, they backfired.

The mail came in all right, but a check of congressional offices reveals that it is overwhelmingly against Medicare. Moreover, many of the writers made it plain that it was the President's Madison Square Garden speech which triggered their decision to tell their congressmen that they opposed the bill.

What went wrong with the Administration's grand design? Well, for one thing, the Administration vastly underrated the determination of its foes. It had hoped to separate the AMA from the family doctor in the public mind. This it could not do. The AMA was solidly backed by its membership on this issue, and it let the public know it.

Most important of all was the Administration's failure to recognize a time-honored political truth: issues cannot be created. The best a party can do is to exploit existing ones.

When the stock market took its spectacular nose-dive on Monday, May 28, the reaction in Washington was surprisingly calm. Democratic palms may have sweated a bit but, for the most part, members of the incumbent party kept their peace. Republicans, once again faced with a heaven-sent issue, again opted to wait until the smoke had cleared away.

By the end of the week party leaders had come to the decision that now was the time to wade in and start slugging. (In general, just about everybody around town subscribes to the view that the market was much too high and that a readjustment was overdue.) But readjustment isn't near-panic. And the fact that the break, when it came, was severe is being blamed directly on President Kennedy and the anti-business bias of his Administration.

These facts the Republican leadership hoped to make clear to the public. But it was a case of too little and too late. Before the GOP had cranked up, Administration supporters had begun to peddle the line that the stock market's discomforting behavior was a sign that investors no longer needed to use the market as a hedge against inflation since the President has firmly indicated his intention of preventing any further inflation. Many investors, according to this rationale, withdrew from the market in order to invest their funds in other ways.

This may seem the height of sophistry, but it could take hold. And if it does the fault will lie with the Republicans, who failed to respond to one of the best issues yet presented them.

At this moment a nasty little drama is being played out over Dutch New Guinea which has failed to arouse public opinion because the full story has not been told. The Administration has, for some time now, been very anxious to get the West New Guinea problem settled. Indonesia wants the property pretty badly and the Dutch are equally anxious to get out, but they refuse to be pushed out.

And so the U.S. is attempting to arrange some face-saving method whereby the Dutch could withdraw without loss of face. But to do so, the State Department has not hesitated to ride roughshod over another tried and true ally, Australia, which controls the greater part of New Guinea. In 1950, Australia adopted the Spender Declaration—a sort of Down Under Monroe Doctrine calling for the preservation of the status quo in New Guinea in view of New Guinea's primary strategic importance to Australia.

This put the matter of Dutch New Guinea into the area of Australian national interest. And so, when the area hotted up into a struggle between Indonesia and the Dutch, the U.S. was faced with the problem of getting the Australians out of the way before the handover of West New Guinea could be, in the best bureaucratese, finalized.

According to Australian sources, the State Department went about it in several ways.

First, the Australians were reminded that they depended upon U.S. support in the World Bank to finance a huge hydro-electric power project now underway. Then, to make the cheese more binding, two questions asked by the Australians were answered in the negative. 1) If Australia went to the aid of the Dutch if Indonesia attacked New Guinea would the U.S. help? No. 2) If they did go it alone and Red China intervened would the U.S. step in? Again, no.

Having got the message, the Australian government backed out of the picture, and faces the prospect of finding itself with a Cuba of its own hard by its northern tip.

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The Third World War

The Decisive Arm

JAMES BURNHAM

Recent events in Guatemala, Portugal, Argentina, Greece, Malaya, Venezuela and Spain illustrate a discouraging attribute of the protracted conflict. Nowhere does it seem possible to inflict a lasting defeat on the Communists. They *can* be defeated, and have been in each of those countries. But the defeat doesn't stick.

In the past there have been other protracted conflicts, with first one side and then the other on top, but during these it was possible to win a conclusive victory within a local theater—a nation or geographically distinct district—which finished the contest there: it became *hors de combat*. Wellington finally defeated the French in Spain, and that was that, though the general conflict went on; when the Christians beat the Moors in Aragon, they stayed beaten though they held elsewhere in Spain for another four centuries; when the Athenian naval expedition was defeated by Syracuse, Sicily had no further trouble from Athens.

Moreover, in our protracted conflict the enemy does seem able to win local victories that prove lasting and stable. Apart from the open general struggle of World War II and the temporary estrangement of Yugoslavia, he has faced no serious threats in the areas he has successively taken over, save for Hungary, Tibet and possibly Poland; and in those three the danger was quickly liquidated. This is the contrast he has in mind when he distinguishes his Zone of Peace from our Zone of War.

Idea Into Reality

Why is it that we never, anywhere, defeat the enemy conclusively (for this is what it amounts to)? Disregarding ideological dogmas—his and our own—the reason is twofold. First, the enemy does, in fact, as he often enough tells us, aim to conquer the world. So far as he is concerned, there is no neutral ground nor time of armistice. Therefore he will always move into any spot where he sees, or believes he can make, an opening; and if he fails today, he will try again tomorrow.

But many a crackpot sect and individual madman have shared the same intent and goal. What makes our enemy's subjective intent practical, "operational," is the existence of the international Communist Party. It is through the Party that the struggle becomes universal and continuous. In Spain, Malaya, Greece, Guatemala . . . , a large army or movement gathered around a Communist core may be defeated; in the United States or West Germany, legal or social influences may greatly reduce the quantitative range of the Communists; but the international Party still exists, and a local Communist nucleus also, of ideas as well as individuals, imbedded like spirochetes in the blood after the first temporary outward lesion.

Lenin is the one unchallenged God in the Communist pantheon. In the ritual Party meetings that celebrate Lenin's birthday, it is traditional that the main speaker shall climax his encomium with tribute to Lenin as "Founder of the Party." And in truth this was not only Lenin's supreme achievement, but the key that unlocked the gateway to power. Lenin's Party of professional revolutionaries, fusing the traits of a secular religion and a conspiracy as well as of a disciplined military formation, is a new kind of army, the decisive weapon for a new kind of struggle in a new kind of world sprung from scientific technology, mass literacy and population explosion.

It is the Party that made Khrushchev's rhetoric so confident two weeks ago when he derided the entry of American troops into Thailand, and prophesied the West's inevitable withdrawal from all Southeast Asia. What was a Geneva agreement in 1954, a Laos coalition now, a Thai coalition tomorrow, a dragging jungle war, when, through it all, the cadres of the Party would remain, would be renewed if lost, for the next round and the next, when we shall have tired, or gone home?

There is a Communist Party and there is no anti-Communist Party; not even anti-Communist parties—for the anti-Party would not have to be monolithically international. It is almost as simple as that. The Communist Party is the outward and visible sign of the Communists' will to power and victory. The absence of anti-Communist parties is the sign of our lack of will, as well as the cause of our perpetual frustration.

A number of persons, noting the crucial nature of this lack, have proposed the building of an anti-Communist Party, but their plans have seldom been serious because they have been unwilling to face the problem of the kind of organization and methods that would be required to counter the Leninist Party. The operations wings of CIA and comparable agencies are truncated anti-Communist parties, lacking several dimensions and essential qualities.

Limits of Democracy

Perhaps it is impossible to build an anti-Communist Party — though sometimes it almost seems to be straining toward birth. But the non-Communist world does not take even serious negative recognition of the decisive nature of the Party. If it did there would, surely, be no section of the Communist Party functioning legally in any nation not under Communist rule.

The Communists are very sensitive to anything touching on the question of the Party, for it and it alone is their vital organ. Whoever turns a spotlight, however feeble, even a sputtering candle, on or near the Communist Party is at once the object of a massive psywar assault. He is, he must be, an enemy of progress and the people, a fascist, a lunatic and a criminal. In these charges—inevitable and invariant—the Liberal mass press joins with Pavlovian fatality. And this united front is not altogether without objective basis. For if Liberalism has become in our time equivalent to democracy, then the problem of anti-Party as of Party carries us outside the limits of democracy.

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Religion

Conservatives, Liberals, and the Natural Law, II

WILL HERBERG

The more serious controversy over natural law has been fought out on the theological level; and here, above all, there is manifesting itself a tendency toward a rapprochement that seems to me of the highest significance. The attack on the classical Aristotelian-Ciceronian-Thomist doctrine was grounded essentially in Reformation theology, although it had its antecedents in Ockham and his school. Not that Luther or Calvin ever denied the natural law; on the contrary, they both affirmed it in explicit terms. They both, however, also protested against the excessively intellectualistic form in which the doctrine came to them, which saw the natural law as a rational system deduced by the rational mind from rational first principles. Over against this rationalism, Calvin insisted that, although "the seeds of them [the laws] are innate in all mankind, without any instructor or legislator," actual historical man is so ravaged by the egocentric corruption of sin that, in fact, his reason is too clouded to discern the natural law and his will too perverted to observe it. Luther said very much the same thing. And modern theologians in the Reformed tradition, such as Reinhold Niebuhr, repeating this basic criticism, also emphasized the inability of the rationalistic natural law doctrine to do justice to man's radical "freedom above and beyond all structure," or to the ambiguities of the human situation and the contingencies of history. And, in the hands of the most radical of Protestant theologians, Karl Barth, the rejection of natural law semed to culminate in a thoroughgoing "situationalism," in which the absolute demand of God came "vertically from above" (*senkrecht von oben*) to man in his concrete here-and-now situation, which was unique and therefore could not be subjected to any external rules or principles. This proved a very attractive position to many Christians who were chafing under what they felt to be a traditionalistic heteronomy, and who therefore welcomed the liberation that came to them through the Barthian transcendentalism.

Herberg

This transcendentalistic liberation from natural law began to lose something of its glamor in the early thirties. Confronted with Hitler and National Socialism, radical Protestant thinkers of the Barthian school found themselves as though upon a stormy sea without chart, rudder, or compass. They had no criteria by which to articulate whatever opposition to the Nazi regime they may have felt; for almost two and a half years, as Barth himself later ruefully noted, they limited their protests to Nazi interference in the affairs of the church, and to Hitler's attempt to enforce the notorious "Aryan paragraph" in the life of the church. The Catholics, on the other hand, with their much despised natural law, were able to say "No!" to Hitler much sooner and with a much wider scope. The Nazis themselves understood the difference; and so did the more thoughtful Protestant theologians. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, for example, John C. Bennett points out in his comment on a relevant passage in Bonhoeffer's *Ethics* (1949), "admits the reality that is often designated by natural law, but he desires to avoid the idea that this is a creation of the human reason and controlled by man" (John C. Bennett, *Christians and the State,* 1958, p. 17n). Just as one-time legal positivists and cultural relativists sought, in the 1930s, for a way out of the nihilistic logic of their own position in some standard of law and ethics beyond the will of the sovereign or the contingencies of culture, so did the radical Protestant theologians begin to explore the possibility of some structures of ethics more relevant to the urgencies of action than the lofty transcendentalism of the Barthian system.

Here they were met halfway by significant shifts in the thinking of the Catholic upholders of natural law. Jacques Maritain, who defines natural law in classical terms as "the normality of functioning of the human being," also rejects excessively rationalistic interpretations of this teaching. The natural law is known, he insists, "not through conceptual knowledge, by way of reasoning," as though it were a system of geometry, but "through inclination, by way of congeniality or connaturality." And, furthermore, he goes on, a moral philosophy based on natural law must "take into account the existential state of humanity, with all [its] wounds or weaknesses, and all the resources it comprises in fact, . . . [including] the data of ethnology and sociology" (*Existence and the Existent,* 1948, p. 49). This version of the doctrine would seem to meet Niebuhr's insistence that a valid moral philosophy cannot refuse to recognize both the radical freedom of man and man's actual involvement in the contingencies of history and culture.

On his side, Reinhold Niebuhr has begun to speak of "enduring structures of meaning and value," and John C. Bennett of "middle axioms," in between the divine transcendence and the ever-changing human situation. If Niebuhr's "enduring structures" and Bennett's "middle axioms" sometimes seem rather unstable and fluctuating, it is well to recall Edmund Burke, who, though never doubting that "all human laws are, properly speaking, only declaratory, [having] no power over the substance of original justice," also recognized, when speaking of the natural rights which are part of this "original justice," that "these metaphysical rights, entering into common life, like rays of light which pierce into a dense medium, are . . . refracted from a straight line . . . [and] undergo such a variety of refractions and reflections that it becomes absurd to speak of

(Continued on p. 458)

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De Gaulle's France on the Road to Neutralism

From exile, the man who for two decades was his closest associate shows how de Gaulle's policy will split the West and clear the Communist road

JACQUES SOUSTELLE

Public opinion in the West seems to be indifferent to the shameful and bloody events that are taking place in Algeria. That an entire Christian and Jewish population of more than a million human beings, plus a considerable percentage of the Moslem population, should be turned over to a clique of bloodthirsty assassins; that in the countryside the triumphant FLN has slaughtered more than 10,000 Moslems friendly to France since the so-called cease-fire of March 18, and has been piling up murders and abductions in the cities; that the so-called "forces of order," obeying the directives of the Paris government and now linked, through a monstrous complicity, to the FLN terrorists, are using inhuman methods of collective repression against the people of Algiers and Oran—machinegunning, killing and wounding women and children, systematically starving whole districts after the manner of the Nazis in Warsaw and the Communists in Budapest; that a territory with vast petroleum reserves and a strategic importance basic for the Mediterranean and all western Europe should be abandoned to a totalitarian force closely linked to Chinese and Russian Communism: all this seems neither to interest nor in the least degree alarm the "free world."

Nevertheless it is not altogether paradoxical to suggest that for the security of the West, Algiers is at least as important as Vientiane, and North Africa at least as important as the little Laotian kingdom.

But if the West is ready to wipe out North Africa with a stroke of the pen, and to shut its eyes before the genocide that is now being committed there—with more than a million men and women condemned to death or exile—is it also ready to give up France? Do they really believe in Washington and London that Europe can resist Communism without France, or with a neutralist France? This question must be faced, because the abandonment of Algeria brings and will bring formidable consequences bearing on France herself, thus involving the whole international situation. The Algerian tragedy, whether we like it or not, is not a localized incident; it is one of the main fronts of a war that we cannot even qualify as "cold," since human lives are being wiped out daily. The stake on this front is, to begin with, all North Africa—for surely no one can suppose that feeble Tunisia and divided Morocco will be in a condition to hold out for any length of time if Algeria moves into the enemy camp; and the stake is also France.

In order to understand this fact better, we must first realize how General de Gaulle's policy toward Algeria, expressed in the "Evian accord" negotiated with the terrorist organization of the FLN, reinforces the Communist Party in metropolitan France.

The Communist Party is the only political party that can boast—and it is not modest about doing so—of having been right from the beginning. It alone came out in favor of the Algerian rebellion at the start in 1954. Throughout this period the relations between the FLN and the Communist world have been steadily strengthened, and the French Communist Party has continuously increased both its public and its conspiratorial support of the Algerian terrorists. Now is the day of the Party's triumph. It has the right to say, as its leader, Jacques Duclos, has recently proclaimed: "This policy [of de Gaulle's] is ours." It can take credit for having understood "the direction of History" better than Mendès-France, better than Guy Mollet, better than de Gaulle himself.

For the Party, this means an invaluable boost in prestige and influence. In the eyes of some persons, the Party seems virtually infallible; for others, it seems in any case strong enough to arouse fear and dictate prudence. And in truth, for seventeen years the Communist Party has always been right. It favored the abandonment of Indochina; it favored the abandonment of Tunisia and Morocco; it favored the abandonment of Black Africa and now of Algeria, and its policy has always won. Most of the time, moreover, a large part of "Western" opinion, in the United States and elsewhere, has lined up with the same policy—has approved the installation of Ho Chi Minh's Communist regime in Hanoi, the liquidation of the French protectorates in the Maghreb, the disintegration of French Africa into a multitude of economically and politically precarious states: and all of this in the name of a principle—"decolonization"—which Communism ardently upholds in order to break up and weaken Western positions, without ever practicing it in relation to the millions of slaves

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whom Communism oppresses in Europe.

Many Frenchmen observe that in each crisis the Communist Party seems to be justified by the outcome, and note that the leadership of the Western world doesn't even bother to defend the bastions which Communism attacks. It is easy to understand how they come to think of Communism as the conqueror of yesterday, of today, and doubtless of tomorrow. Opportunism prompts them to be at least neutral, if not openly on its side.

The Communist Party's attraction to the French parties of the Left which, like the Socialist and Radical parties, tried to resist its influence, has been immensely reinforced by the fact that the views of all these parties on the Algerian question, after having long been profoundly different from the Communist position, became identical to it under the aegis of de Gaulle. In the April 8 referendum, the Communists, the Socialists, the Radicals and even the Christian Democrats of the Catholic MRP voted alike; and it is de Gaulle who has brought them together. Isolated yesterday, the Communist Party has seen the barriers which divided it from the "national" parties fall away; it can now even claim, with good reason, to be the vanguard of the national parties, and can take pride in its record. To whom does it owe this success? To General de Gaulle, whose policy compelled the non-Communist parties to line up with the Communists, even though the Communists made no concession in return.

Victory over NATO

Through the abandonment of Algeria, the French section of international Communism scores two great victories: the one that we have just described, consisting in the demonstration that as against everyone else it has been right; and a second that has been won by the East over NATO.

Everyone seems to forget that, for the first time since the North Atlantic Treaty was signed, a territory covered by that treaty has been lost. Algeria was an integral part of the defense system set up under the NATO pact; it formed a kind of advance bastion. In a few weeks Algeria will become neutralized (as no one doubts) before becoming Communist (about which some may indulge the luxury of doubt a while longer). Thus it is now proved that NATO is not invulnerable, but can be turned, broken up, "nibbled"; that breaches can be opened in its lines of defense; and that this can be done by the will of one of the treaty partners without any protest—but quite the contrary—from the others. Are we not faced with the really astonishing fact that de Gaulle is being congratulated by Washington and London for having dismantled NATO by liquidating Algeria?

Whoever looks closely at a map of the Mediterranean and recalls the events of the last world war will see at once that Algeria is a vital element for the security of western Europe. The neutralization of Algeria by the de Gaulle-Ben Khedda accord—not to mention its probable Communization—constitutes a major victory for the Eastern camp. If this is not taken into account in Washington, it is understood perfectly in Paris, where a good many people, and in particular certain business circles, are wondering whether a neutralist France, which would negotiate with Russia and enter into mutually profitable transactions, wouldn't be better protected by that neutrality than by a disintegrating alliance. We must not forget that there is a natural tendency in most men—in France as in other countries—to line up with the winner, to jump on the bandwagon. And the surprising ease with which NATO permits itself to be dismantled is certainly worth pondering.

Anti-Communists Weakened

If, then, the Communist Party has been strengthened in France, whereas in May 1958 its influence had fallen almost to zero—*because at that time it was obviously losing*—this effect is multiplied many times over by the fact that its opponents have been simultaneously weakened. De Gaulle's Algerian policy has had the result of pulverizing those forces capable of effective opposition to Communism. The Army first of all: most of its leaders are in prison, some of them con-

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demned to death, others in flight or exile. They have been replaced by second-level men, without character or civic courage, who have made careers by displaying a servile conformism, by betraying their comrades and lending themselves to the basest police and provocateur methods. Even at an earlier stage, General Challe's abortive putsch in April 1961 served the government as pretext for permitting, if not actually encouraging, the creation of Communist cells among the soldiers. The units made up of conscripts are now infiltrated by miniature soviets whose primary mission is to denounce anti-Communist officers—whom they accuse of plotting against the regime—to the political police. The elite units, such as the parachutists or the Foreign Legion, are either broken up or sent under various pretexts as far away as possible from France.

In this way the chief obstacle to a Communist seizure of power is disappearing.

The anti-Communist parties and groups, like former Premier Bidault's Christian Democrats and the National Regroupment which I led, have been dissolved, in violation of the Constitution and of democratic rights. Thousands of citizens known for their anti-Communist views have been thrown into prison or concentration camps, without trial, recourse or time limit.

Some people compare de Gaulle to Kerensky: one would have to add: a Kerensky whose police apparatus had done in advance, for Lenin's benefit, the job of the OGPU! Historically, the role of the present dictatorial regime in France seems to be that of erasing democracy and thus clearing the road for the totalitarian dictatorship of Communism. It is significant that the Communist Party, which makes a pretense of protesting against what it calls "personal rule," nevertheless voted *Yes* on April 8 to the demand for dictatorial power that de Gaulle had submitted to referendum. Why? First, because the Party knows with certainty that it has nothing to fear from the Chief of State. Under him, the government dissolves anti-Communist organizations, but *never* Party organizations; suppresses national newspapers, but *never* Communist papers; imprisons and mistreats anti-Communist militants, but *never* Communists, etc. Second, so that de Gaulle, who is not eternal, could stay in power long enough to complete the destruction of "bourgeois democracy," and thus open the path for the Communist Juggernaut.

In the present phase, no one could equal de Gaulle in the task of breaking the resistance to Communism, especially smashing the Army. There is no longer a genuine parliament in France; the legal opposition is muzzled. The Power rules in contempt of the Constitution, by arbitrary decrees, police and prison. The frame of dictatorship is already in place, and the Communist Party counts on being the beneficiary as successor to the present Dictator. There will be no need to change anything in the present system; it will be enough merely to take the helm.

Possible Communist Maneuvers

How can the Communist Party hope to achieve this objective? Three factors permit the Party to think of gaining it without a putsch or a coup d'état, through manipulation of political combines of the Popular Front type.

1) As we have already noted, de Gaulle's Algerian policy brings so striking a confirmation to the Party's course that many opportunists and weaklings are tempted to join up or at any rate not to interfere. Confronting divided and disoriented parties on the Left, and a conservative opposition without any dynamism, the Communist Party can become the active nucleus of a political coalition in which it would be the master.

Moreover, some capitalist sectors (note, as example, the present role of the great banks, of which Premier Pompidou is an outstanding representative) are playing the game of neutralism, and believe it possible—a mortal error on their part—to come to terms with Communism. As for the Catholic Church, which has considerable influence in France, part of the hierarchy has in recent years taken a position strongly favorable to the Algerian rebels and to a "Christian progressivism" that on all important subjects shares the Communist views. The Catholic weekly, *Témoignage Chrétien,* which is widely distributed in Catholic circles and supported by certain cardinals and bishops, has conducted a continuous campaign against the French Army and preaches collaboration with the Marxists. The Catholic daily, *La Croix,* which is read by all French priests, follows a similar line. Some Catholic priests have gone so far as to preach openly in favor of the abandonment of Algeria, and others have been convicted of having given material as well as moral aid to the FLN terrorists in France.

Under such conditions, it is obvious that the Communists would not have much trouble building up a transitional coalition with the leftist progressives, the Catholic Liberals and even the representatives of some industrial and banking interests. After that . . . who would there be to throw them out of the power which they would have attained "legally"?

2) As we have also noted above, the opposition groups and the anti-Communist forces have been and continue to be systematically crushed by the police of the Gaullist regime. Added to this is the massive propaganda campaign, particularly concentrated on the nationalized radio and TV, which seeks to discredit anyone opposed to Communism with accusations of "fascism," etc.

3) The third factor working in favor of Communism in France is General de Gaulle's international policy.

In this connection it is necessary to realize that de Gaulle is neither favorable nor hostile to Communism. Communism simply doesn't interest him. He believes in races, nations, states; not in regimes or their ideological expressions. For him there are Russia, China . . ., not Communism. He knows perfectly well that inde-

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pendent Algeria, ruled by the FLN, will inevitably become Communist; but that leaves him indifferent. "The FLN leaders will have their Communist experience, and in twenty years that will be over," he remarked to a member of the Assembly in December 1960. He evidently does not understand that once a Communist regime is established anywhere, it stays in power by force and by psychological techniques operating on the masses. And he understood no better the nature of the revolutionary war conducted by the East against France in Algeria. His vision of the world is vast, but archaic: it is that of the nineteenth century, even of the eighteenth or seventeenth. He imagines the world as a tournament of states, as a field on which is played the grandiose game of the "sacred monsters" (he loves to quote Nietzsche's phrase: "the State, the coldest of cold monsters"); his ambition, for himself and for his country, with which he identifies himself, is to be in the top rank, among those who direct the game.

Toward Neutralism

Thus, for de Gaulle there is no basic reality that can be defined in terms of a Communist offensive against the West and the defense to be made against that attack. He does not believe in its existence, and becomes sarcastic when an officer, for example, mentions this primordial fact. For him there is only one problem: *placed as she is between the two giants, Russia and America, both armed with weapons of mass destruction, how can it be brought about that France (that is to say, de Gaulle) shall play her own game?*

In general terms, his reply to that question—the only question that he finds of any interest in his exercise of state power—can be summarized as follows:

A. To liquidate all France's undertakings outside of the European continent, hence in Black Africa and Algeria. Why? Because France must keep her hands free, and must be disencumbered of any responsibility outside of Europe in the event of war between Russia and the United States. If France still has territories to defend beyond the limits of Europe, she will inevitably be subordinate to the naval and air power of the United States and England, as was the case between 1940 and 1945—a situation which de Gaulle, at whatever cost, wants to prevent happening again. "Decolonization" functions within the perspective of a long-term neutralist policy.

B. France having thus disengaged from Africa, she must devote all her efforts, even at the cost of very heavy financial and economic sacrifices, to building an Army equipped with atomic weapons and a nuclear striking force. To get this in a country like France, it is essential to be able to impose enormous—crushing—charges on the managers of the economy and on the people generally, and this makes inevitable a regime of economic and political dictatorship. The atomic army thus created must be under the control solely of the French Government and cannot be integrated in any manner with an international force such as

NATO. It must remain separate in order to be the instrument of a separate policy. If war broke out between America and Russia, France, equipped with nuclear weapons, could "wait and see" and preserve her freedom of choice—up to and including neutrality.

C. General de Gaulle is also relying on this purely French striking force to realize his aim of European hegemony, based on a Franco-German "binomial equation" in which only France would dispose of the decisive weapon. Seeking this hegemony, de Gaulle must declare himself favorable to some sort of European unification, but must *at the same time* make impossible any political and military integration of Europe that would deprive the French state of its absolute autonomy and its separate nuclear force.

It is this double necessity which yields such formulas as *l'Europe des patries* ("Europe of fatherlands") or *l'Europe des États* ("Europe of States").

Franco-Russian Rapprochement

D. In the eyes of the French Chief of State, the Soviet Union is, above all, Eternal Russia. That it happens to be Communist is of little importance. What counts is the Russian state, with its special ambitions and perspectives, today under a Communist cloak as yesterday under the cloak of an orthodox Christian Czarism. De Gaulle greatly admired Stalin; he considers Khrushchev a successor much inferior to the first Red Czar. Fatally underestimating the importance of Marxian ideology, de Gaulle envisages for the future a reorganization of Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals," on the basis of a Franco-Russian rapprochement. This bloc of Whites would confront the Yellow bloc, the Chinese "termites," whose expansion could be stopped, most probably, only by the use of nuclear weapons. In order not to compromise the chances for that White Europe, which would include Russia but of course not America, France and the Franco-German "little Europe" must be careful not to get too involved in the Atlantic Alliance against Russia. Indeed, from this point of view the Atlantic Alliance appears as an obstacle.

E. Meanwhile, France must orient her policy and diplomacy so as to improve her relations with the "Third World," with the Arab nations in particular, in order to draw these countries into her orbit at the UN and elsewhere. This presupposes that France adopt an attitude as close as possible to "positive neutralism" *à la* Nasser, that she make sufficient concessions to the Arab nationalists to be able to resume a fruitful dialogue with them, and that she loosen as much as possible her friendly ties to Israel.

(Continued on p. 458)

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Critical Students

At Trinity University, a few weeks ago, the student council released an evaluation of the faculty by students. Among other frank observations, the Trinity students generally remarked that many of their professors were dull and unimaginative; and that they asked too little of students in intellectual performance.

Kirk

Trinity is not peculiar. At several colleges I know about, student groups—often the official student government—have asked the college administrators to set higher standards, take action against cheating, and restrict the enrollment of indifferent or improperly prepared freshmen. Though colleges are in a bad way when the students themselves find the going too easy, still this criticism promises a healthier future.

The students most annoyed are those enrolled in dull "Education" courses—which, the better students realize, do little to prepare them for teaching, and certainly offer next to nothing for the mind. One such student writes to me—enclosing outlines, tests and essays from his courses in educational psychology and educational sociology at one of the better state universities—about this sorry state; and I quote at some length from his letter:

"Ed. Psych. (as it is not-so-affectionately called by its students) was interesting, although the overemphasis of sex, Freud, and more sex-in-the-life-of-the-two-year-old was unnecessary and somewhat ludicrous. Our professor was a strict adherent to the 'there are absolutely no absolutes' philosophy (complete with the usual, and all-but-illustrated examples of cannibalism and other atrocities 'socially acceptable in other cultures'). At an informal meeting he dismissed my objections to his generalizations with the attitude that these were mere religious superstitions on my part and that he was magnanimous in not wishing to discuss the subject further, thereby 'risking' my beliefs. . . . The final consisted, in the main, of upwards of two hundred true-false and multiple choice questions, which were more opinion than fact: 'Should Johnny be punished for kicking the teacher? True or False?'

"Educational Sociology was what is commonly called a snap course. There was required work which took time, but there were so many A's and B's in the class that I am led to believe the completion of the work, rather than quality, was the basis for grading. Attendance in class was a total waste, as we always discussed a wide range of topics, such as last Saturday's football game or the professor's son—who was in the Peace Corps. Although sociology *was* discussed, the lectures generally were vague and unprofitable (except for the unit on subcultures). We had one quiz (which didn't count), a take-home mid-semester, and our final was split into two parts: an almost-difficult take-home test, and a short, several-page report, mostly concerning our opinions of *his* committee report. On the days of the mid-semester and final final (as he called it), the class met in the Union to discuss our opinions, our term papers, and our answers to the test-essay questions—in groups of four to six students! Our teacher then circulated around, sitting in on a group occasionally. Believe it or not, however, these Union meetings were more profitable to most of us than the class meetings—which gives some idea of the latter."

To judge from the materials this student sent me, the courses in question are somewhat superior to the average course at the average school of education. (There should be no such things as "*Educational* Psychology" and "*Educational* Sociology" conducted by departments or schools of education at universities: the regular professors of psychology and sociology in the arts colleges are quite competent, presumably, in their own disciplines. When will we hear of "Educational Calculus" and "Educational Greek"?)

I hope that lively students will continue to press for the improvement of curriculum and teaching in all college and university courses—and for the elimination of educational boondoggles. I have long believed that more attention ought to be paid to this by the officers of the United States National Student Association—of which I have the honor to be a national adviser.

To judge by many of the recent bulletins from the headquarters of the National Student Association, the uninitiated reader might conclude that the NSA is a branch of the Congress for Racial Equality. For students who like Freedom Rides and sit-ins, those are the sort of thing they like, and every man to his humor. But for a national student association to identify itself enthusiastically with a particular political movement of dubious efficacy is to imperil the reputation and influence of student self-government.

When last I was at the University of Chicago, the active chapter of CORE did not picket my lecture, perhaps because they were busy vexing the Chancellor by occupying the chairs in his office. They had considered picketing, though, the previous night, a lecture by Mr. Lionel Trilling, on the general principle that somehow this would call attention to the Simon Legrees of Mississippi. Well, if students yearn to picket and to sit, I suggest that they picket the ideologue professor, the dull professor, and the lazy professor. As for sit-ins, those dreary gentlemen already have the students sleeping in their chairs.

Nursery Rhyme

Mr. Banana
From British Guiana
Came up with a mug like a clam.
"You feel better," he said,
"When you're deep in the Red;
So pay me, for that's what I am."

JOHN PEYTON DEWEY

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Three Poems

JOSEPH JOEL KEITH

From the Sheltering Elm Rest Home

It had all been a burden, the white
house on the corner beyond the high
fence and the locked gate, *Beware the Dog*
warning one and all. Yet Miss Elaine,
seeing the oak that Papa planted
housing marauders, the owners' sons;
and hearing the shrieks of savages
in that place of quiet where she moved
on tiptoe past Mama's room, still, still,
after she'd fancied herself a queen—
yet Miss Elaine, seeing her world wrecked
by barbarians, Papa's gate torn
(Papa had kept her from vulgar boys,
Papa's "own girl"), somehow she feels now
she had marred his memory. Why, why
had she sold that house of love? By night
she stirs from her bed. The gate is banged.
The latch is caught and is loosened. Loud,
loud is the banging: it's Papa's way.
He's angry, dear Papa; wronged and hurt
by his "naughty girl." He'll stay around.

Toward Marriage

What had been held in her, now was free.
No longer on guard,
she would give herself wholly.
Deeper than a word

was the utterance of mouth and mouth,
now soft, and now fast;
the promises unspoken,
eloquent meanings

blended into inescapable
desires of blood, bone,
and spirit: found by the pair,
captured that moment

when nobody else lived in their world
fevered; and, though spent,
replenished in a tickless
time past passion's door.

Toward a Sunless Place

Held by a swirl, crimson-veined,
in a swift game that began
as holiday play, the boy,
suddenly man, and the girl,
afraid and receptive, torn
as her cravings are, hold fast
as the storm gathers, calls, grows:
they are caught in a red swirl
as the loosened avalanche
of autumn sweeps them across
the meadow (two months ago
the playground of innocents)
to the woods; no longer babes
parted, they find each other:
to be one, or again lost?

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The Ordeal of Negro Africa

NATHANIEL WEYL

In the past decade, Liberal sociologists have invaded the Dark Continent in force and seeded it with clichés, myths and falsifications. Margery Perham, who will be remembered for her distinguished biography of Lord Lugard, has dispelled some of these myths, but remains on fundamental issues a prisoner of sentimentality and collective masochism. Two younger and more perceptive writers, L. H. Gann and P. Duignan, have done an admirable job of realistic diagnosis and prognosis. They challenge the view that Africa consists of newly emerging nations or that the independence movement is, strictly speaking, nationalist.

Negro Africa is preponderantly tribal. The so-called nations are not communities of language, kith, culture and historic tradition, but administrative units established for pragmatic reasons by the European colonizing powers. The independence movement is largely one of racial resentment against real and imaginary wrongs, arising in a social environment that is, as Miss Perham writes, still "dark with poverty, ignorance, hunger, disease, isolation, cruelty, human sacrifice, even cannibalism." The African grievance that the best land was pre-empted by white settlers is shown to be without historic justification. Its *reductio ad absurdum* is the "African Congress speakers who complain that when the whites first came into Rhodesia in 1890 they stole all the finest farms by the side of the railway lines!"

White Settlers in Tropical Africa, by L. H. Gann and P. Duignan. Penguin African Series, 95¢

The Colonial Reckoning, by Margery Perham. Knopf, $3.95

Gann and Duignan point out that the prevalent Liberal optimism concerning the prospects for a democratic Africa is poorly grounded. "Democracy of the Western type is an almost impossible ideal for backward agrarian societies," they write. "Liberty and stability will not easily be secured if Africans seize power, especially where white minorities are involved. The temptation to make the European the universal scapegoat for the tensions and frustrations of primitive society in the throes of rapid transformation is too great." They add that there is equally little sense to the theory that the colonial powers should pursue a policy of concessions so as to win the "uncommitted" nations to the Western alliance, observing that sensible governments do not base their foreign policy on gratitude, but on national interest. The new African leaders are quite capable of grasping this principle even if it seems to elude the Adlai Stevensons. Moreover, the dynamic of this sort of power struggle is that demands are increased in geometric proportion to concessions: "Each demand becomes obsolete as soon as it has been conceded; the more moderate leaders who do not adjust themselves to this mounting rhythm are always in danger of being ousted by leaders of a more radical stamp."

In British East Africa, a transfer of power from some 400,000 Europeans to a small group of Negro leaders, backed by black multitudes on the edge of spasms of violence, is impending. In the Portuguese possessions, race war against almost half a million whites and assimilated Africans already smoulders. The final stage of the racial upheaval would be the subjugation of the three million whites who now rule South Africa. This process involves probable genocide on a terrible scale. And to what purpose? Gann and Duignan point out that Negro living standards and opportunities are greatest in the areas of largest white settlement. The elimination, subordination, or enforced emigration of the whites (in Kenya 35 per cent of the White Highlands has been offered for sale) means the destruction of the chief leaven of social progress in all of Africa south of the Sahara.

Blinded prisoners of democratic dogma may imagine that the role of this elite of European stock can be taken over by Peace Corps gymnasts and by the instantaneous materialization of a Negro elite of four millions, training in technology, administration and the other arts of civilization and statecraft. The facts of the matter are that the Negro advance in Africa has not been this spectacular, that it has been greatest in colonies of swift advance and heavy white settlement and that, in any event, the need of Africa for an expanded elite is so great that the decimation of the existing one is a crime against the Negro population. Miss Perham is so oblivious to existing differences in human ability, regardless of their causation, that she writes: "Yet, if the Africans did succeed one day in taking over the [South African] state unharmed, they might constitute the richest state in Africa." The question of whether the state would be "harmed" by the elimination of most of its creative minority is not touched upon.

Despite her large knowledge of Africa, Miss Perham makes false charges, such as that "the Portuguese colonies exhibit the unyielding supremacy of white over black"; excoriates South Africa, where the Negroes are, as Gann and Duignan demonstrate, better off than elsewhere, but praises Nkrumah, who has destroyed free institutions and instituted large scale corruption, as "dynamic and uninhibited." The lesson of the Congo

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is the need for more "constructive help" by the United Nations. Britain must work with the United States in leading Africa to freedom; by the United States, Miss Perham evidently means Mr. Kennedy's left-wing extremists. *The Colonial Reckoning* is urbane, perceptive, wise in peripheral observations, often sound as to historic backgrounds, but on the major issues little more than the old theme song about revolutions of rising expectations and the rights of self-determination.

Her book illustrates the power for evil of slipshod thinking about fundamental matters. It is assumed that the central political objective in Africa should be democracy rather than those more primary values of due process, individual freedom, order and opportunity, which democracy sometimes guarantees and sometimes impairs. Oddly enough, Western thinkers have come to the point where they consider a racially homogeneous tyranny as freedom and a racially heterogeneous colony as unfreedom. Belief in human equality of capacity becomes a political issue, supplanting the goal of equality of opportunity. "One man, one vote" is identified with representative government even though the traditional basis of the latter is an electorate able to think, understand and judge political issues. When the color bar is eliminated, the advocates of the culture bar find themselves stigmatized as racists. The belief in human equality implies the disbelief in elites; hence their wanton destruction for one reason or another is permitted; consequently a continent may be condemned to a future of travail, disintegration, and social, political and economic retrogression.

A Good Pitch Is Better Than a Wild Swing

JIM BROSNAN

TWO RECENT biographies, *Maybe I'll Pitch Forever* and *My War With Baseball*, contrast two famous baseball players' eccentric attitudes toward their profession. "Satchel" Paige, a right-handed Negro pitcher, and Rogers Hornsby, a right-handed hitting second baseman, have described for the more avid baseball fan moments (most of them glorious) in their lives as professional ballplayers. A dispassionate reader's review of the two books might tend to confirm a traditionally accepted professional opinion that pitching is still 75 per cent of the game.

Maybe I'll Pitch Forever, by Leroy Paige and David Lipman. Doubleday, $4.50

My War with Baseball, by Rogers Hornsby and Bill Surface. Coward, $4.50

Hornsby, an acknowledged master with the bat, sometimes called "the greatest right-handed hitter of all time," has picked baseball's bones in print for most of his public life. In detailing his undeclared war with baseball, Hornsby, with the help of a ghost writer young enough to fool, chops and lunges at the issue and never meets it squarely. Had his batting form during his playing days been as erratic as his memory during his writing hours, he might not have made even .280 as a lifetime average instead of .358—which is the kind of swinging that led him into baseball's Hall of Fame. Leveling his scatter gun at every phase of the profession from owners to general managers, present-day players to hoary traditions, Hornsby takes bad aim at alleged "phonies" in baseball and blasts away. Peculiarly insensitive to his record of having been fired more times than any other manager in history, he excuses himself inconsiderately by saying: "I ain't no yes-man, never will be, so I don't have a job."

His complaints that players' salaries are inflated, present-day players are inferior to old-timers, and general managers are compulsive second-guessers who don't know which player should play but tell the field managers anyway, are sometimes supported by facts, but mostly are private speculations. His advice to aspiring professionals includes such personal opinion as: "The smart pitchers are those who know how to cheat—they make the big money," and, "Drinking, chasing women, and going to the movies don't help a ballplayer." (He recommends betting on race horses.)

Withal, Hornsby evinces a desperate attachment to the profession. "Baseball," he says, "should be a requirement in school. Any American boy who does *not* play baseball is un-American." Politically he's insecure perhaps, but he adds: "If you play the game right and hustle you'll always have a future in baseball." For Hornsby this latter maxim has proved true. Either from generous magnanimity or masochistic delight, professional baseball has always found a place for Rogers Hornsby.

UNFORTUNATELY for LeRoy "Satchel" Paige, as his biography attests, baseball's reverence for achievement on the field is often less than skin-deep. The Negro pitcher whose thirty-six-year record indicates an incredible efficiency at his job will never sit in baseball's Hall of Fame. He was born too soon.

Maybe I'll Pitch Forever is the tentative statement of a man who has pitched professionally so long it cost him five hundred dollars to learn the date of his first pro game—1926. (He thought it was later, and bet half a grand that nobody could prove it was earlier—which a dedicated, research-minded fan proceeded to do.) Paige was the greatest of all Negro ballplayers, as he readily admits. His life on the other side of the color line is recorded in dialect and statistic by David Lipman. His credentials as an extremely competent professional pitcher are unqualified. Bobby Feller, Dizzy Dean and Lefty Gomez claim Paige was just as good as they were. Satch claims he beat them regularly.

"Nobody called me LeRoy but my Mom and the government," Satch says. He received his nickname from

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the kids who watched him tote bags at the Mobile, Alabama, railroad station when he was ten years old. But "When I was 10 and when I was 50 one thing I could do was play baseball. And you'd better believe it." His almost incredible coordination allowed him to kill flying birds with rocks, pitching control that fictional characters might find hard to sustain. Paige sometimes broke windows as well as bird bodies, and at the age of twelve he was admitted to the Industrial School for Negroes where in five years "they made a man outa me."

As a seventeen-year-old boy among men, he played his first professional game, and from 1929 to 1958 he pitched baseball all year long; his was hardly a seasonal occupation. His reputation among white pros was established in 1930 when he fanned twenty-two major league All-Stars in an exhibition game on the Pacific Coast. The roster of major league stars who gave Paige little trouble would make an All-Star team that even old-timers would be proud of. (Paige's opinion of great hitters was, by virtue of his own nature, limited to his personal experience. He maintains that Charley Gehringer was tougher to get out than Joe DiMaggio.)

For years Paige threw nothing but fastballs. He called them Bee Balls and Trouble Balls. Eventually he developed "about ninety other pitches," one of them unique, all of them colorful: bloopers, loopers, a jump ball, a hurry-up ball, and a bat-dodger. His "hesitation pitch" was banned by American League President Will Harridge as "deceitful." Paige hadn't been in the majors very long at the time and thought Harridge meant it was illegal, so he gave it up.

Paige personally found segregation distasteful and wonders (throughout the book) why everyone doesn't—especially baseball fans. (His "greatest team of all time," to be sure, was a Negro club, the Pittsburgh Crawfords, once owned by a restaurant owner whose Crawford's Grille is now a famous modern jazz parlor.) He had his ups and downs, mostly ups. At one height of his career he became a collector—of good china, antique furniture, and big, fast, red cars. He was a money-maker for many people. Promoters clamored for his services; but "old green was hard to hold onto." He often took jobs because he had to have one, a position that put him in some ball parks where no self-respecting bona fide Hall of Famer would play.

When a Negro was first invited to play major league ball, it was a young college boy, Jackie Robinson, not the famous veteran, Satchel Paige, who got the chance. Paige resented it. ". . . it was me that ought to have been first. Those major league owners always was about twenty-five years too late on everything." When Paige finally made it, on July 7, 1948, he took his time getting to the mound. His long, slow walk from the bullpen was famous, a patented, measured pace that exemplified his personal philosophy: "A man's got to go slow to go long and far."

Paige's major league record, while not sensational, was better than might have been expected of an old man of 43 going on 47. He helped Cleveland win the 1948 pennant and, as a relief pitcher, won twelve and saved ten games for the 1952 St. Louis Browns, who finished in seventh place. The Browns were managed by Rogers Hornsby, of whom Paige says: "Guess he wanted to be a general but never

Random Notes

● Movies: A Lancaster, Pa., drive-in movie, hoping that the bailiffs had forgotten the 1794 law against Sabbatical cutting up, offered *King of Kings* and *Twist Around the Clock* this Easter, and, in spite of an eclecticism unheard of since Gomorrah or San Francisco in the old days, still got caught. . . . Among the latest heroics of the celluloid people we note that Samuel Bronston and Co. have rolled up their sleeves, spat on their hands, and set out to make *The Fall of the Roman Empire*. . . . Cineproduzioni, in Italy, announce *The Last Days of Herculanum* [sic] and *The Old Testament*, Douay Version.

Lesser, but somehow still interesting undertakings to come before the cameras: Katherine Anne Porter's *Ship of Fools*, acquired by Stanley Kramer for $375,000; and William Faulkner's *Light in August*, to be done by Kastner-Mann.

The finest news we've heard about the talkies is that Ray Bradbury, one of the best satirists in the business (his work is disguised as science fiction), will collaborate this summer with François Truffaut, who made *Jules et Jim*. The two, *Variety* reports, had first planned to do *Fahrenheit 451*, Bradbury's book in which the worst that could happen is extrapolated with offhand prevision ("But," says a wall-to-wall TV viewer, "I thought Jesus used that green toothpaste"). They now plan to do a series of Bradbury stories.

● Incidental: The *Chicago American* for April 30 has a charming picture of all that new White House culture. The two Kennedys are introducing Pearl Buck to "Carl Frost." It's been a long time since James Buchanan offered Dickens a sand-box to spit into, but we'll get the hang of it again. Robert Sandburg, Chicago's own sweet singer, was not present on the occasion.

● Books: One of the more readable books around is Merlin Ennis' *Umbundu: Folk Tales from Angola* (Beacon, $7.50), with an introduction by the great scholar of oral traditions, Albert Lord. . . . And *A Working Friendship* (Random House, $10) is well worth reading about in. It is the correspondence between Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal.

Southern Illinois University Press has brought out the ancient, famous and glorious (Shakespeare owned a copy) Arthur Golding translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. This is a reprint of W. H. D. Rouse's London edition back in the thirties, which was expensive and unobtainable. . . . John Middleton Murry's *Keats* has achieved paperback (Noonday, $1.95).

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made it. He ran his ball club like an army."

Asked why he continued to pitch professional ball at the age of 47, Paige declared: "'Cause of money and women." A self-conscious ladies' man, he pleaded ignorance of feminine whims and motivations. "You just say a word to 'em and let them fill in from there. That's the way with women." His advice to pitchers, and other young men, is basically simple: "Keep your back strong, your belly down, and avoid hurry-ups." Blessed with a strong arm that carried him from Mobile to the majors, from catfish to steak, Paige was still pitching professionally in 1961, for the Portland Beavers in the best of the minor leagues. To readers of his book it may seem sad that he won't pitch forever.

Men and Ideas

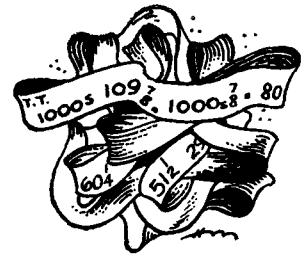
Keynesians at Bay

HENRY HAZLITT

WHEN I wrote *The Failure of the "New Economics,"* in 1959, I nourished the hope that a theorem-by-theorem analysis of the Keynesian fallacies, as they were stated in the words of the Master himself, might at last shake the Keynesians out of their dogmatic slumber. I ought to have known better. If they could keep re-mumbling their clichés and incantations for nearly a quarter of a century, in total disregard of the failure of their medicine to lead to anything but more government controls and perpetual inflation, it was naive to expect that a mere theoretical analysis would lead them to do any fresh thinking.

Their instinct for self-preservation had led them, in fact, to work out over the years a defensive technique precisely designed to protect them from the necessity of re-examining their assumptions or their logic. The essence of that technique was to dismiss all critics of Keynes on the ground that the poor fellows were just incapable of understanding the Master's profundities. Keynes himself prepared this line of defense at the very beginning. In the Preface to his *General Theory* he endeavored to ridicule or intimidate his critics in advance by remarking: "Those who are strongly wedded to what I shall call 'the classical theory,' will fluctuate, I expect, between a belief that I am quite wrong and a belief that I am saying nothing new."

His disciples quickly went him one better. Paul A. Samuelson ventured the opinion that nobody beyond fifty could hope to understand the book. In fact, Samuelson confesses that even *he*, for the first twelve or eighteen months, had an "uneasy realization that I did not at all understand what it was about. And I solemnly aver—upon the basis of vivid personal recollection—that no one else in Cambridge, Massachusetts, really knew what it was about." And if even he and his friends didn't know, obviously the prospects for lesser mortals were hopeless. Particularly if they were anti-Keynesians. For Samuelson continued: "It bears repeating that the *General Theory* is an obscure book, so that would-be anti-Keynesians must assume their position largely on credit unless they are willing to put in a great deal of work and run the risk of seduction in process."



But, though I decided to put in that work and run the risk, I was told by the Keynesian reviewers of my book that not only was all my work in vain, but in vain precisely *because* I had done so much work. Thus Sir Roy Harrod, Keynes' official biographer, shook his head sadly at my "line-by-line analysis." "All this is useless," he wrote in the London *Financial Times;* "[Hazlitt] has failed to see the wood for the trees." I had quoted sentences and paragraphs faithfully, but this was only "taking texts out of their contexts." What could I have done to avoid this? How much more would I have needed to quote? Alas, wrote Sir Roy: "In such a book [Keynes' *General Theory*] the 'context' of sentences and passages is nothing less . . . than the book as a whole!" If you restate Keynes' argument in your own words, you are sure to misstate it; but if you quote him precisely and meticulously, you are sure to miss his point altogether.

The same technique was applied to me all over again by Abba P. Lerner. Professor Lerner was generous enough, in 1951, to write that my *Economics in One Lesson* was "one of the finest attacks on topsy-turvy economics . . . to be found." But that was because my argument there was "based on the assumption, mostly unconscious, of a state of full employment in which topsy-turvy economics is completely out of place." But now suppose, he asked in his review of *The Failure of the "New Economics"* (in the *Review of Economics and Statistics* of May 1960) that there is unemployment? Then: "We have an upside-down economy for which a topsy-turvy economics is appropriate." The reader may have to rub his eyes several times before he can take this in. It is equivalent to the theory that the explanation of an absurdity must itself be absurd, or that a theory of insanity must be itself insane.

That unemployment is not full employment no one needs to be told. The Keynesians constantly talk, however, as if they were the only ones who knew this. In fact, they sometimes talk as if this were Keynes' great discovery. But if full employment and unemployment require two entirely different and irreconcilable theories to explain them—with the former only explicable by "classical economics" and the latter only explicable by "topsy-turvy economics"—we indeed find ourselves, in Lerner's phrase, in "a Kafkaesque nightmare of discussion at cross purposes." But though the nightmare is Lerner's, his confusion is so profound that he attributes it to me.

THIS double standard of logic, this polylogism of the Keynesians, is an integral part of their you-couldn't-possibly-understand-us technique. So perhaps one more example may be in order. Dudley Dillard, author of *The Economics of John Maynard*

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Keynes, reviewing my symposium *The Critics of Keynesian Economics* in the *American Economic Review* (June 1961), writes: "Keynes' fundamental theoretical proposition is that there can be an equilibrium at less than full employment 'is a contradiction in terms.' Both are correct!" Following Keynes, Professor Dillard then writes some pretentious folderol contrasting classical "Euclidian" economics with Keynesian "non-Euclidean" economics, and concludes: "Whether a situation of large unemployment is described as one of equilibrium or disequilibrium is not important." That is: whether or not description is ambiguous or self-contradictory is not important; whether or not a triangle is called a circle is not important.

WE COME now to the technique of the Keynesians in misrepresenting the views of critics, even to the point of asserting that the critics said what they didn't say or denying that they said what they explicitly did say.

In his review of my *Failure of the "New Economics"* in the March 1960 issue of the *American Economic Review*, Joseph P. McKenna wrote: "On the question whether saving equals investment, surely no great gain is achieved by taking together the definitions of the *Treatise on Money* and those of the *General Theory* as equally good indications of Keynes' thought." Now in fact I did not do this. I did point to the inconsistency between these two definitions, but more importantly to the inconsistency of the definitions *within* the *General Theory* itself. Thus I pointed out that: "Keynes himself alternates constantly between two mutually contradictory contentions: 1) that saving and investment are 'necessarily equal,' and 'merely different aspects of the same thing' and 2) that saving and investment are 'two essentially different activities' without even a 'nexus' [*GT*, p. 21], so that saving not only *can* exceed investment but *chronically* tends to do so." But Professor McKenna completely ignored my reference to the definitional contradictions *within* the *General Theory* itself.

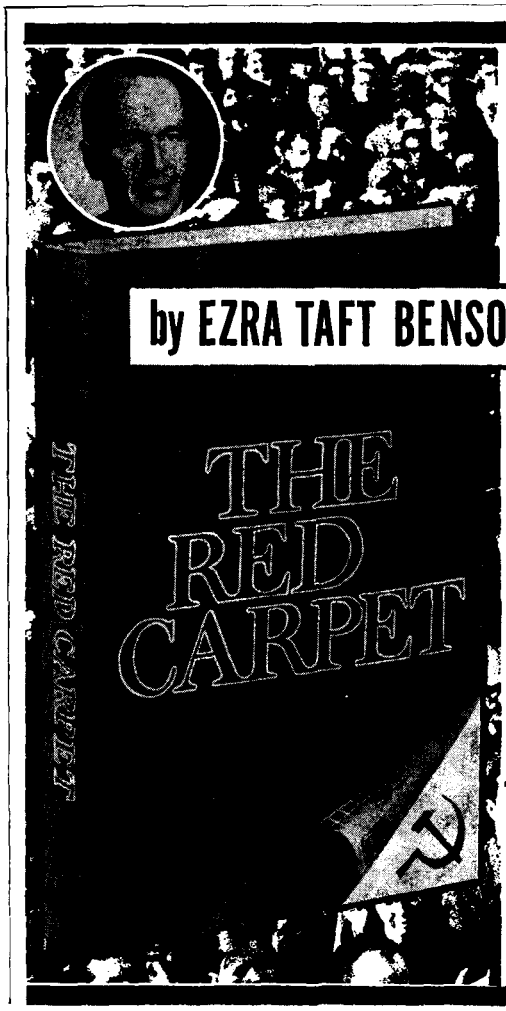
Another example: the London *Economist*, in its issue of October 24 1959, declared, regarding my views as expressed in *The Failure of the "New Economics"*: "[Hazlitt] merely denies (on evidence drawn entirely from the post-Keynesian era) that the money illusion ever existed at all." There was no such denial in my book. When I wrote to the *Economist* to ask their reviewer on what page he found such a denial, there was no reply. But the *Economist* did publish a letter from me in which I pointed out that, far from denying that the money illusion ever existed, I had over many years written insistently on its existence and effects. In my *Economics In One Lesson*, for example, first published in 1946, the whole chapter on "The Mirage of Inflation" is devoted to it. To quote a portion:

> Inflation throws a veil of illusion over every economic process. It confuses and deceives almost everyone, including even those who suffer by it. We are all accustomed to measuring our income and wealth in terms of money. The mental habit is so strong that even professional economists and statisticians cannot break it.

A FINAL EXAMPLE: Professor Lerner, in his article in *The Review of Economics and Statistics* previously referred to, writes: "In part, Hazlitt's frustrations are due to his missing some of the basic elements of the Keynesian analysis—in his failing to distinguish between thrift or the attempt to save, and saving or the amount saved, so that he can see nothing but exasperating inconsistency in Keynes' advocating investment while discouraging thrift (in depression) if saving and investment are equal by Keynes' definition."

Now this distinction between saving and the mere *attempt* to save is nowhere to be found (certainly not in any *explicit* statement) in Keynes' *General Theory*. It is a distinction drawn later by the "post-Keynesians" in a desperate attempt to make sense of otherwise flagrant inconsistencies and contradictions. But I don't think the distinction helps their case. And, as it happens, I explicitly dealt with this post-Keynesian amendment in my book *The Failure of the "New Economics."*

I shall quote the passage (which I can only assume, generously, that Lerner never read) at length. (In-



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cidentally, all the italics are in the original passage):

> If Keynes is assuming a constant money supply, then an "act of saving" by any individual or group (when "saving" means solely *money* saving) must necessarily be offset by an act of "dissaving" by some other individual or group. For if the money supply is constant, the *average* cash holding cannot be increased. If, under such conditions, the majority of people suddenly *attempt* to save more, then the initial result must be that producers (and nearly all families are producers as well as consumers) will buy less of each other's goods. It is *only* in these suddenly changed specific conditions, and for such an assumed *initial* period, that the predicted Keynesian result of unemployment would take place as a consequence, not of "saving," but of *attempted* saving.
>
> And even this consequence is possible *only under the further assumption* that prices or wage-rates are "sticky" or inflexible in a downward direction. For if prices and wage-rates are fluid in both directions, the immediate response to a falling off in the desire to buy goods or to hire workers would be a lowering of prices or wage-rates to a point where people would cease to attempt to save more than before and would consent to make their usual purchases again. In any case, the reduced supply of money offered would now be sufficient to buy the previous volume of goods and to employ the previous number of workers at the now lower prices and wages.
>
> But this analysis reminds us that even when the "Keynes unemployment effect" takes place, Keynes is accusing the wrong factor of being the culprit. The real culprit is not saving, but wages and prices that are inflexible in a downward direction.

In presenting these excerpts from Keynesian reviews of my own books I do so in no egocentric spirit. I do not wish to give the impression that I consider myself to have been treated by the Keynesians with any special unfairness or absentmindedness. I offer the excerpts merely as additional samples of the Keynesian attitude toward dissenters for the past quarter century.

If, perhaps, there is creeping into their response a note of desperation, this desperation is not unwarranted. I declared as a conclusion of my book that I had been "unable to find in [Keynes' *General Theory*] a single important doctrine that is both true and original. What is original in the book is not true; and what is true is not original." Unable to show that a single original doctrine in the book is true, the Keynesians have fallen back on an attempt to show that at least what *is* true in the *General Theory* is original with Keynes.

Now there are some things that are true in it. It is true that there is not always and everywhere a condition of full employment, and that there is sometimes and somewhere (as in the U. S. when Keynes' book was written) a condition of prolonged mass unemployment. It is true that there are economic fluctuations and business crises. So the Keynesians in a desperate effort to save *something* out of their position, pretend that the "classical" economists before Keynes were blind to unemployment, or to hoarding, or to crises, and that the present non-Keynesians continue to deny the existence of these things. All that the non-Keynesians deny, of course, is the validity of the attempted Keynesian *explanations* of these things or the efficacy of the proposed Keynesian remedies.

There is another sign of intellectual desperation in the position of the post-Keynesians. They at last realize that they cannot defend themselves against common sense. So, if common sense is against them, they will be against common sense. The paradoxes I have quoted above from Dillon and Lerner are not confined to them; the entire school has fallen back upon paradox. The whole Introduction to Samuelson's textbook on economics is devoted to a defense of paradox. "On closer examination common sense may prove to be really nonsense." "Things are often not what they seem." "The truth may be the reverse of what appears to be the simple truth." "Private prudence may be social folly."

This is no place to explain once more why the paradoxes of the post-Keynesians are false. But it is clear that they are now held with increasing tenacity precisely *because* they are paradoxes. *Credo quia absurdum.*

Movies

Total Cinema

THOMAS MOLNAR

As we waited in line to see *Last Year at Marienbad*, people leaving the previous performance showed perplexity and disappointment. Some began to laugh at us; others wished us well for the coming two hours of boredom. "Don't go in," they said, or: "Ask for your money back." Undaunted, the line remained: some warmed by the blood of art pioneers, some because they had read Bosley Crowther's enthusiastic review in the *New York Times*. I stayed because I have a high regard for Alain Robbe-Grillet, who wrote the story, and for Alain Resnais, maker of several outstanding films of the *nouvelle vague*.

After the first twenty minutes I had to admit that without at least a nodding acquaintance with the *nouveau roman* and the cinematographic *nouvelle vague* the film presented almost insurmountable obstacles for the routine movie-goer. I don't think I break the rules of reviewing if I reveal the "plot," since it is the least essential aspect of two hours' haunting experience. It is the usual triangle: wife, husband, lover. But in what a relationship and in what a setting! The lover tries to persuade the wife that they have met once before, last year at Marienbad, and that she had then promised to leave her husband and follow him. The setting is the halls and parks of an old-world luxury hotel with guests and servants moving noiselessly, fragments of idle conversation overheard, fleeting glances at endless card games.

In this tranquil atmosphere, the camera achieves a combination of virtuosity and poetic wonder: it moves like a ghost in a haunted house, accompanied by the lover's even, yet passionate and plaintive story as he evokes the situations which the young woman is supposed to remember from last year. It is a pressing, obsessive courtship, the like of which no film ever showed before—with only the camera insisting, as it circles the corridors and the gardens and forces its recurrent images into her reluctant consciousness.

The narration is simple and, above all, repetitive: the images again and

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again the same as the camera slips from mirrors to pillars, along statue-lined corridors, the geometric forms of the park and the pool, Chirico's frozen landscapes. There is not a trace of psychology; in fact—and this is the decisive thing—no *interiority*. The passion (motionless), the promise (if there was one), the husband's impassive but watchful eyes (is he jealous?), the woman's slow, sleepwalking surrender, the lover's desperate obsession—all are indicated by indirection, mostly by the surrounding objects. And this is where the knowledge of the *nouveau roman* becomes almost indispensable to an understanding of the film.

Robbe-Grillet, young experimental novelist, is an accomplished artist. His art, described as "objectivism," "non-literature," or simply "the new novel," attacks what it finds dishonest in the traditional novel and style: psychology invented for the author's and reader's comfort, a narrative focusing on privileged moments and situations, selective description of people and places. Robbe-Grillet, Michel Butor, Claude Simon, Nathalie Sarraute, Claude Ollier, each in his own way attempts to eliminate the picturesque, the epic, the psychological in the conventional sense, and to reduce the world to its framework of objects. But, thrown out the door, poetic intensity returns through the window. The objects minutely studied and described become alive with an insisting presence; they secrete a special, strange poetry, an atmosphere which, being totally unusual, becomes suggestive of new visions.

IN his story *Jealousy*, Robbe-Grillet's narrator is the husband whom the reader never really meets, only his impersonal presence as he directs our eyes to the surrounding house, veranda, plantation, delivery truck. Always the same elements; but no longer object-like and inert because the more we are forced to stare at them, the more haunting they become. It is like repeating a familiar word ten times, a hundred times: it will live in your ear with a new sound, a new life. In another novel, *The Maze*, a soldier, escaped from a beaten army, wanders through the snow-covered streets of an unknown city, in search of an address where he is supposed to deliver a package. He is the total stranger, more so than the stranger in Camus' novel, more so even than

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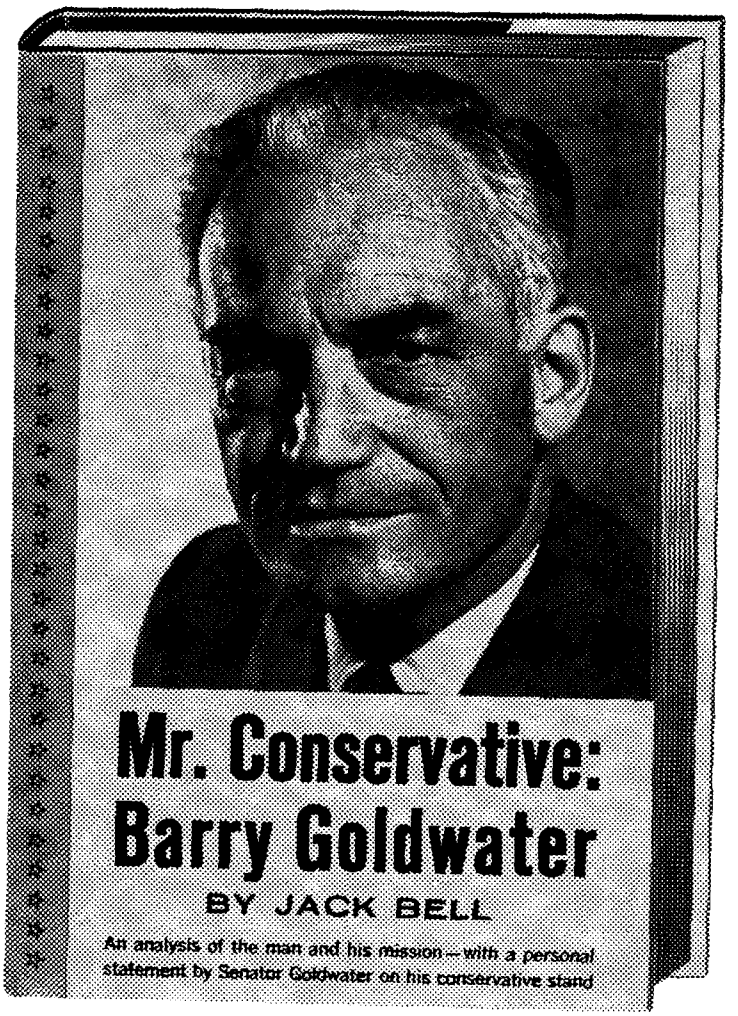
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DOUBLEDAY

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Kafka's anti-hero in *The Trial*. Lifted out of all meaningful human context, confusing past and present, reality and feverish dream, the soldier ceases to be the locus of ordinary consciousness. He becomes an object in an oppressive universe of objects; but these objects are alive with a special existence, since they are described minutely, consistently, no longer as elements of the milieu, but as parts of a network outside and independent of human awareness.

For this approach to the world the film is an ideal medium. The main objective of the new novelist is to remove the center of gravity of the story from the character's mind and, ultimately, from the author's directing mind as well. The center will then be nowhere, or if you wish, everywhere. This is hard to achieve in writing because the writer's hand is never entirely invisible, and because a sentence simply must have a subject. But the camera may move with apparently absolute freedom, since the visual image is more immediately suggestive than the written word and can create the illusion of independence from narrator and director. As we become one with the movement of the camera and adopt its rhythms and angles of vision, we accept more willingly through the eye what we would criticize as artificial on the printed page. The result is that we *look* into the character's inner mechanism and hidden psychology in a way that—at least for modern sensibility soaked in behaviorism—is more credible, more honest, than the traditional novelist's obvious selection and willed emphasis.

Why do I say that this technique has a poetry of its own? Poetry is incantation, magic. Homer, or the medieval epic poems, a Péguy in our days, used repetition, stereotyped adjectives, fixed metaphors to elicit our deepest response and to remind us that nature and human life are marked with the quality of recurrence. *Last Year at Marienbad* achieves a poetic effect by letting us discover the hidden rhythm of objects, their secret symbolizing force and their magic correspondence with our states of mind. What starts out as an experiment in rationality and objectivity—Robbe-Grillet's literary intention—becomes, in an altogether original way, a communion of man with the outside world: the eternal aim of artistic effort.

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE COUNCIL, REFORM AND REUNION, by Hans Küng (Sheed and Ward, $3.95). A brilliant German theologian introduces a note of realism into the rather Utopian attentions the new Ecumenical Council has thus far received. Dr. Küng sees the Council in the context of history. He presents a brief sketch of the twenty previous Councils, and suggests that they indicate certain tasks and disciplines for the new meeting. Pope John XXIII may want to balance the emphasis on Papal centralism inherited from the last Council, the Vatican Council of 1870, by shifting power back toward the Bishops in their dioceses (their "Churches," as Pope John has begun to call them, in keeping with the apostolic practice). Dr. Küng hopes that Newman's hopes will prove prophecies: after the Vatican Council's disappointments, Newman wrote "Future popes will explain and in one sense limit their own power . . . a reassembled Council may trim the boat." (Criticism of Papal emphasis was safer in Newman's and Acton's day; *America* had not been founded.) G. WILLS

MEN, ROCKETS, AND SPACE RATS, by Lloyd Mallan (Messner, $5.95). A second revised edition of the book that the President of the American Rocket Society, Andrew Haley, describes as "must" reading—for space buffs and laymen alike. Mallan tells the full story of the supersonic age, from the day pilot Chuck Yeager shattered the sound barrier in 1947 to Project Apollo, the current plan to send a three-man reconnaissance team to the moon. It is a saga of technological wonders, but, more importantly, of human vision and human courage. Mallan describes the raw fortitude of men like John Paul Stapp, who risked his life in bruising deceleration tests at Wright Air Development Center, and Captain Ed Sperry, who bailed out of a jet knowing he would break his arm—in order to isolate a flaw in the ejection system. Mallan includes, in the new edition, the transcript of the proceedings in which world space officials certified Yuri Gagarin's "flight around the earth." The Soviets' own words (given in Mallan's Chapter XV) suggest that, far from "confirming" Gagarin's exploit, this particular session cast it seriously in doubt. All in all, the definitive work on current happenings in rocket science and space research. M. S. EVANS

PIGEON FEATHERS AND OTHER STORIES, by John Updike (Knopf, $4.00). Good stories by a fine young writer who has an almost shockingly accurate sense of the undertones of common situations, such as in the story "Home," about a young man who brings his wife and baby home from a stay abroad, where he once found himself weeping, homesick, over a Doris Day movie. Driving from New York to the small town where his parents live, he senses that particular ambiguity, that gulf between the dream of home and its actuality, "so it was with a sense of guilty urgency that he silently urged the car forward, as if the heart of America might give out before he reached it." J. DIDION

A PROLOGUE TO LOVE, by Taylor Caldwell (Doubleday, $5.95). Taylor Caldwell, who turns out best-sellers with the regularity of Fords coming off the assembly line, set herself a real challenge this time. Could she create a set of characters whose distinguishing feature was insufferableness, and still hold the reader's interest in them over three generations, or 600 pages, whichever way you count it? She

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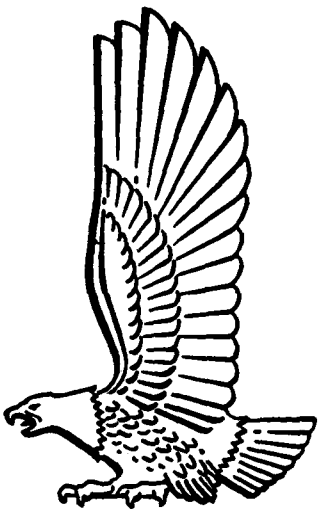
plays the game fairly; there's not a downright wicked, licentious or depraved character in the lot. If anything, she has stacked the deck against herself: not only are her characters insufferable (as opposed to wicked) but insufferable in a humorless Proper Bostonian way. And she brings it off, as a glance at any best-seller list will attest. Somehow, lumpish, unattractive Caroline Sheldon, that most despised of literary figures, the wealthy miser, grips the imagination. As if mesmerized, you watch Caroline destroy, one by one, the people who love her, or might have loved her, driven by a besetting compulsion—a pathological fear of a poverty she never knew. Like a horse with blinders, she focuses all her energies on the sterile acquisition of gold and power. In their pursuit, she kills the husband she adores, brutally destroys her cousin and business associate, wrecks the lives of the three children she has never loved. It is a tribute to Miss Caldwell's talents both as a novelist and a psychologist that she can clinically dissect Caroline Sheldon—lay her out for us as she is, cold, humorless, unlikeable, even physically dirty, with little more than a blunt straightforward honesty to her credit—and evoke a sympathetic understanding of her as a woman, self-tormented. P. L. BUCKLEY

JAZZ: *A History of the New York Scene,* by Samuel B. Charters and Leonard Kunstadt (Doubleday, $5.95). New Orleans and Chicago had their day, but New York has been the jazz mecca for 35 years. Two able researchers tell the story in flavorful detail, with wonderfully evocative illustrations. (One reproduces the announcement of a café owner who took a deep breath and slapped on a 25-cent cover charge during the engagement of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band.) But the authors' predilections throw the book off balance. For two-thirds of the way they linger lovingly over jazz before 1930; the swing era suffers such summary treatment that Artie Shaw and Chu Berry rate not a mention, and nobody found it necessary to look into Benny Goodman's autobiography, *The Kingdom of Swing.* N. MC CAFFREY



"The greatest invention of man was language. It bridged the seemingly impassable gulf between mind and mind. Only secondary in importance was the ability to record thought by signs, which culminated in the alphabet. With this facility, man not merely overcame space, but defied time. These two master inventions made possible a continuity of thought and experience which is quite impossible to the Banderlogs. Thus, a principle, which has been tested by two thousand years of experience, is likely to have greater justification than the passing thought of a living generation, which may be merely the synthesis of its temporary interests, its fleeting passions and exceptional conditions."

Taken from the Introduction of

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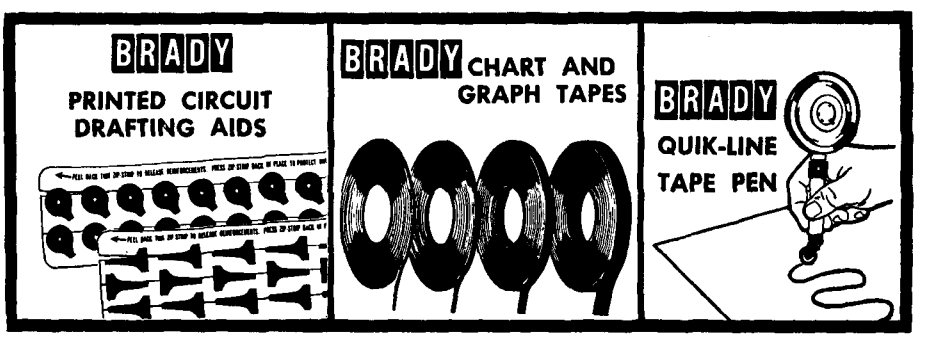

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To the Editor

Tribute to Forrest Davis

Forrest Davis had a great, abiding affection for NATIONAL REVIEW; therefore, it is fitting that I address this brief tribute to the only publication that Forrest regarded as "worth the candle."

Forrest was one of the last survivors of a breed of men who merit the sobriquet "Men of Good Will." There are not many such men left today, and the impatient ideologues who would reduce us to a batter, to be poured into a cookie mould, are incapable of grasping the very *idea* of a man like Forrest, who regarded our radical opponents with a sly amusement and a tolerance that was completely over their heads. The Man of Good Will is a humane man whose will is good precisely because it is free and of the spirit. Such a man was Forrest Davis.

New York City ROBERT A. HUNTER

The Golden Bed

In an editorial remark [April 24] you refer to the almost touching extravagance of Madame Mary Edusei, wife of Ghana's Minister of Industries. Her gold-plated bed has, indeed, become a symbol of a mentality which is as deplorable as it is typical. But you are quite right in adding that those who are so indignant about this affair should not forget that there are worse ways to waste Western aid. The point is that these worse ways are exactly those which more often than not are heartily approved or even recommended by those who organize that aid. If so much money is spent on a dream-bed it is surely wasted, but only once. If the money, however, is invested in a steel-work which is uneconomical to build in this or that country, the unfortunate people will be compelled to support this waste permanently by paying more for steel and by misallocating their productive resources.

Cologny, Switzerland WILHELM ROEPKE

Free Speech re Free Speech

Hamilton's devotion to the cause of absolute power for the federal government was well known to the delegates at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Consequently, his interpretations, and those of his henchman Madison, expressed in Federalist Papers No. 84, against the Bill of Rights; Nos. 45 and 32, concerning retention of sovereignty by the states, were considered "baloney," to borrow a word from Willmoore Kendall [May 22].

Hence the Bill of Rights, far from being a "sort of afterthought," was a *sine qua non* of ratification. The real Hamilton-crusher was the Tenth Amendment which made explicit in the Constitution the interpretations of Madison and Hamilton in the Federalist Papers. It, alone, kept the spirit of '76 alive until 1865. Kendall's audience had far more reason to be "horrified" over his cavalier treatment of the law which will justify the hanging of tyrants than they had over his musings on freedom of speech.

Los Angeles, Cal. WILLIAM F. MAHER

As one whose subscription to NATIONAL REVIEW is motivated by partial adherence to Mill's "Essay on Liberty," permit me to take issue with some of Mr. Kendall's remarks on free speech. Mr. Kendall's dismissal of Mill's work as "a piece of bad philosophy" is reminiscent of Dr. Bunche's dismissal of Professor van den Haag re: Katanga. Kendall's assertion that "by the time [the Supreme Court] gets around to deciding, free speech will already have been impaired and Congress, as Hamilton foresaw, will have had its way," does not exactly stand the test of investigation. Implicit in the statement are a) congressional attempts at usurpation of power and b) the Supreme Court's inability to check such attempts. As for a), only in times of national emergency, *e.g.*, the Civil War, World Wars I and II, and the current Communist threat, has Congress legislated in the field of free speech; and only during Reconstruction, when Congress limited the court's appellate jurisdiction, could a possible case be made for the usurpation argument. Even this, however, is debatable in view of the constitutional provision for such action. As for b), the court has in fact decided on "time" cases where legislation impairing free speech went beyond the intent of the act, *e.g.*, *Hartzel* v. *U.S.*

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Finally, Mr. Kendall's concluding remarks on whether or not to let Gus Hall speak are clever and witty, but not much else. Personally I can justify impairing Gus Hall's freedom to speak on the grounds of the conspiratorial nature and foreign dominance of the movement he represents. As for the "good sense" of the American people to deport him to the Soviet Union, I wonder how Mr. Kendall reacts when the "good sense" of the American people runs contrary to his convictions? At the risk of getting burned, I would hazard a guess and suggest that Mr. Kendall does not share the "good sense" of the American people on the Gallup Poll rating of John F. Kennedy.

Peekskill, N. Y. WERNER M. FEIG

Passing NR Around

Thought you'd like to know: I never throw away or tie up for newspaper disposal any copies of either the NATIONAL REVIEW magazine or *Bulletin* after reading and digesting. I like others to enjoy a good thing, too. I just leave 'em on bus, subway or waiting room seats; even left a couple of copies in men's public rooms, too. Not an original idea, I'll admit, but it sure gets the word around!

Bergenfield, N. J. JOE CORRADO

Are we flushed with pride? —ED.

Who Shall Vote?

"The Welensky middle way for Central Africa is to abolish racial barriers while, at the same time, keeping high voter qualifications. Government services have been racially integrated, and public facilities — hotels, swimming baths and theaters in Salisbury, for instance—have been opened to both races." ("High Stakes in Rhodesia," May 8).

No! When people wish to use their vote not to defend but to destroy free competition and free enterprise (or any other form of freedom) then "high voter qualifications" are all wrong and *no voting* is better. Voting is a method, not a purpose. When the purpose is evil, any method used to achieve such evil end is similarly evil. If granting the universal and secret ballot to headhunters is democracy, with the result that a majority votes to serve roasted missionaries for breakfast — then there is something radically wrong with such concepts of democracy.

When a duly elected politician starts "planning and directing" someone else's enterprises as being "in the interest of the people" (as judged by him and his followers) then he discloses thereby that he is out to rob you (in a strictly legal manner) of your right to decide whom you wish to buy from, sell to, compete with, etc. —and wishes to assume and monopolize this, your right, for himself and his followers, no matter how numerous or how few.

Rotterdam, Holland S. D. ABRAMOFF

In Defense of Nixon

For all the good that it will do either to the consciences of NATIONAL REVIEW editors or for Mr. Nixon, I rise in protest at the slanted book report on *Six Crises* for which you axed out a space in your May 22nd issue. I realize, of course, that if this had been a kindly critique it would never have been submitted in the first place, but the point is this:

Your book slayer started with the assumption that everything Mr. Nixon wrote was wrong, and possibly not even quite true. I point particularly to his nasty portion dealing with the morning after the election. If anyone

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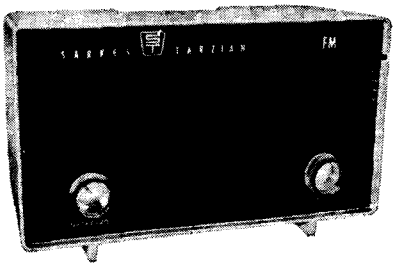

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including your "man" thinks that even the hardest and most seasoned politician can go through the press wrenchings, the publicly administered venomous assaults and finally the narrow and illegal defeat that Mr. Nixon did, and not feel some emotion, then I suggest that it is your reviewer who needs some analysis and not Mr. Nixon's book. Was your man at breakfast with Julie and her father? He assumes, and leaves the reader to do likewise, that Mr. Nixon could not have arisen at that hour. My own question is that a man could have gone to bed at all after such an ordeal. I pity him and I pity his wife and family who have had to stand years of such unfair abuse.

For shame. What a pity that the fairest scholiast of all, Mr. Whittaker Chambers, could not have accorded this book the proper and decent treatment it deserved. Perhaps it takes a man who has been unfairly judged himself to be understanding enough to write so sweetly as he did of others who have also suffered at the hands of fools.

PATRICIA P. GREENHOOD

Los Altos Hills, Cal.

A Tax Proposal

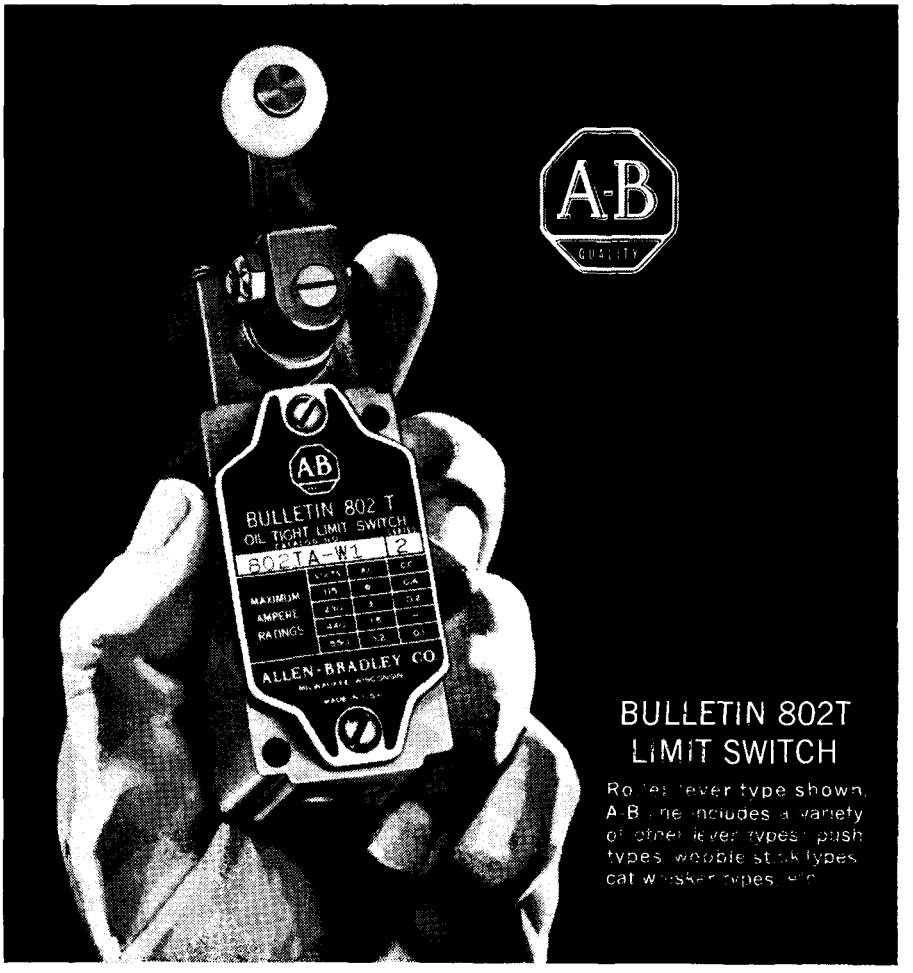
The one big tax field into which the President's Liberal White House entourage does not yet seem to have moved him is that of births, deaths and burials.

Take births, for instance. Isn't the introduction of a new candidate for all the privileges of citizenship an imposition upon the state of new responsibilities which justifies the state in exacting a substantial fee from the parents?

And then, as for deaths: Any productive, tax-paying citizen who dies before the age of 65 is obviously running out on his obligations to society, and the government might well regard this as a defection, and impose a penalty upon such a person's estate commensurate with the offense.

As for burials: It is clearly recognized in progressive circles that ancient and unduly expensive rites involve great waste of private resources, and that disposition of the deceased must soon be socialized. Because of surviving prejudices . . . which are strongly represented in Congress, it is unlikely that this reform can be put through until the New Frontier is better represented on Capitol Hill.

Bernardsville, N. J. RODNEY GILBERT



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DE GAULLE'S FRANCE

(Continued from p. 442)

These are de Gaulle's visions: unquestionably grandiose, evoking themes (like the Yellow Peril) from the early years of our century. These and these alone explain consistently the precipitous flight of France from Africa and Algeria under dishonoring and disastrous circumstances; the political triumph incredibly granted to the FLN after it had been militarily defeated; the insistence on a purely French nuclear force; the opposition to an integrated Europe; the coldness of Paris toward NATO; the difficulties with Washington and London; the estrangement from Israel. Strictly speaking, it is not a reversal of alliances that is taking place, since General de Gaulle's policy is not to replace the Atlantic Alliance by a Russian alliance. *It is a question, rather, of disengagement, of an isolationist, neutralist tendency, based on the desire or illusion of playing a role of leadership apart from the "Anglo-Saxons."*

Bridges to the Kremlin

Since its ultimate objective is the creation of a European bloc reaching from Paris to Moscow, it is clear that this policy, in order to succeed, must keep open the bridges leading to the Kremlin, even at the risk of a dangerous strain on relations with America.

We occasionally read in the American press a point of view that may be put as follows: "De Gaulle has two faces. On one side he is a Liberal, an enlightened man who understands our epoch, and we must approve and support his policy of decolonization. But on the other side he is a difficult partner, saturated with ideas of grandeur, who endangers Europe and NATO." In this notion there lurks a major fallacy, consisting in the belief that there is a contradiction between the two aspects of the Gaullist foreign policy. In truth, there is no contradiction. De Gaulle—disregarding the prophetic elements in his mind and rhetoric—is and remains a nationalist of the nineteenth century, if not of the age of Louis XIV. It is not out of "Liberalism" that he is leaving Africa and Algeria—meanwhile abandoning their peoples (toward whom he professes a racist scorn) to frightful convulsions. It is rather because the support of French overseas sovereignty demands sacrifices, expenses and efforts that he is eager to devote to his European and global "Grand Design." Decolonization is only one link in a chain whose other links are the plans for European hegemony, isolationism and neutralism. Americans will do well to understand this. They ought to realize that when they applaud the abandonment of Algeria, they are simultaneously applauding the disruption of the Atlantic Alliance.

The deadly danger that de Gaulle's policy constitutes for that Alliance, and thus for the defense of the free world, sufficiently explains why Moscow—which has always been represented in Paris, close to the General-President, by one of its most adroit men, Sergei Vinogradov—wants the present regime to last. The Kremlin takes care that the French Communist Party puts up no more than a facade of opposition, just enough to keep its ranks under control but never to place the dictatorship in jeopardy. This was plainly seen in the April 8 referendum. Without the Communist votes, de Gaulle would have won no more than a bare majority, perhaps not even that, of the enrolled voters. This would have been a fatal blow to his authority. It is correct to say that the Communists, on Russia's orders, saved the regime two months ago.

And this was natural enough: for de Gaulle's dictatorship is today, in France and in Europe, international Communism's ace of trumps.

(Translated by James Burnham)

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RELIGION

(Continued from p. 438)

them as if they continued in the simplicity of their original direction." Niebuhr himself might have written this passage, and this ought to serve as a measure of the relation between the two men, one of whom emphatically affirms the doctrine of natural law and the other has been known, as emphatically, to reject it.

What, now, is the upshot of this survey? It is that some doctrine of higher law beyond the sheer will of the sovereign or the folkways of the community would seem to be necessary if the right is not to be reduced simply to the power of the stronger. Varying interpretations of the higher law are possible, and may even be ultimately irreconcilable—as, perhaps, are the two conceptions of the higher law most familiar to us, one of which sees the source of the higher law in the revealed word of God and the other in the rational structure of man's nature. But, however varying the interpretations may be, the conviction remains essentially the same; and it is this conviction which must underlie any human system of law or ethics if such system is not to dissolve itself into sheer nihilism.

Conservatives, true to the classical tradition of our culture, whether Hebrew or Greek, of course affirm the doctrine of the higher law as the very cornerstone of their moral, social and political philosophy. Liberals, especially in the past century and the earlier part of this, have frequently rejected this doctrine in favor of some form of legal positivism, cultural relativism, and moral pragmatism; and have on occasion even derided it as vestigial superstition and obscurantism. But a profound revulsion of opinion has been under way in the past generation, which has brought many an erstwhile Liberal to a new understanding and appreciation of the tradition of the higher law, even in its explicit natural law version. Conservatives, it seems to me, ought not try to make of this tradition a simple party doctrine, with true-blue conservatives on the one side and unregenerate Liberals on the other. We ought to be able to explain and defend our conviction about the higher law in such a way as to help, rather than hinder, the return of erring Liberals to the vital center of the moral consensus of our civilization.

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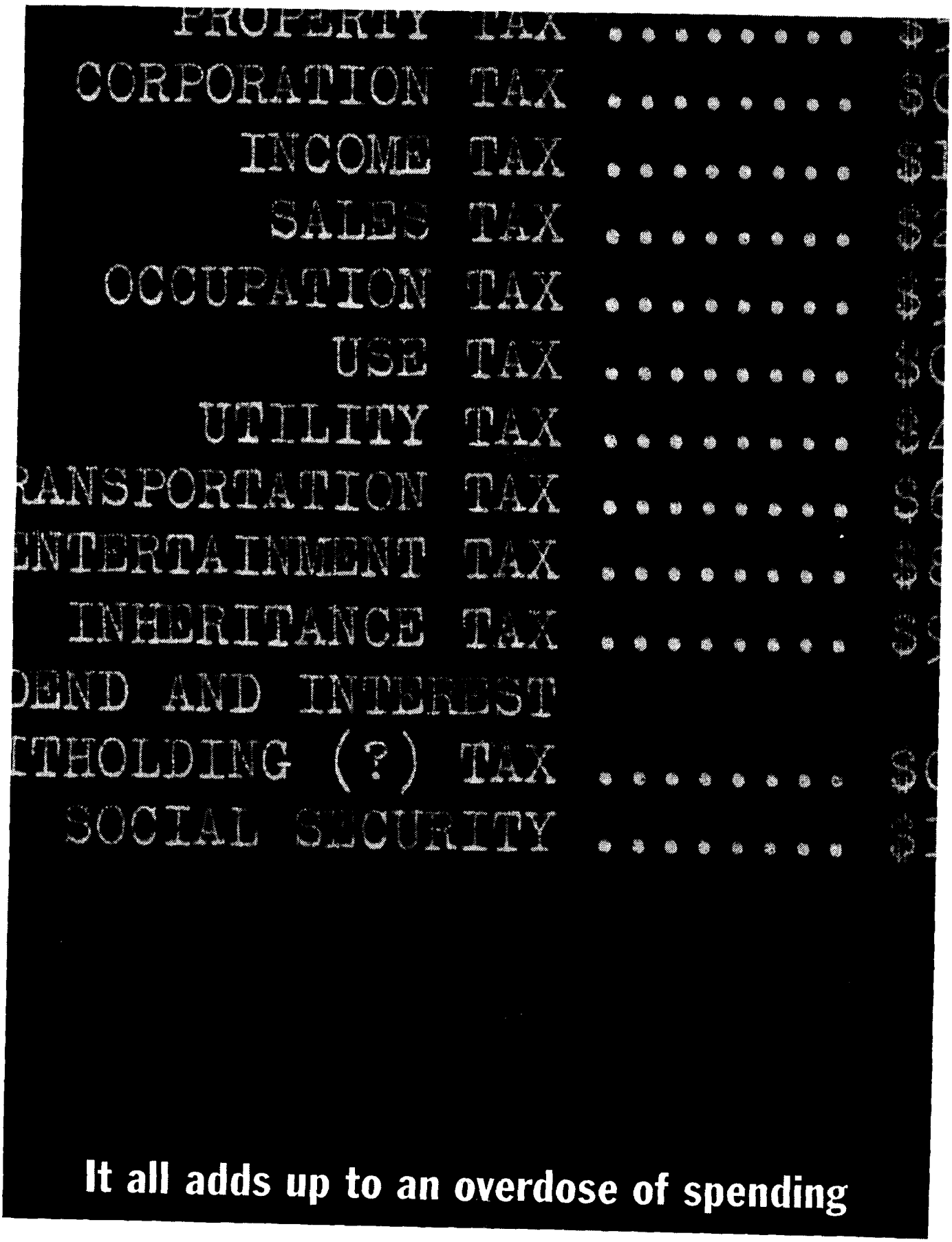

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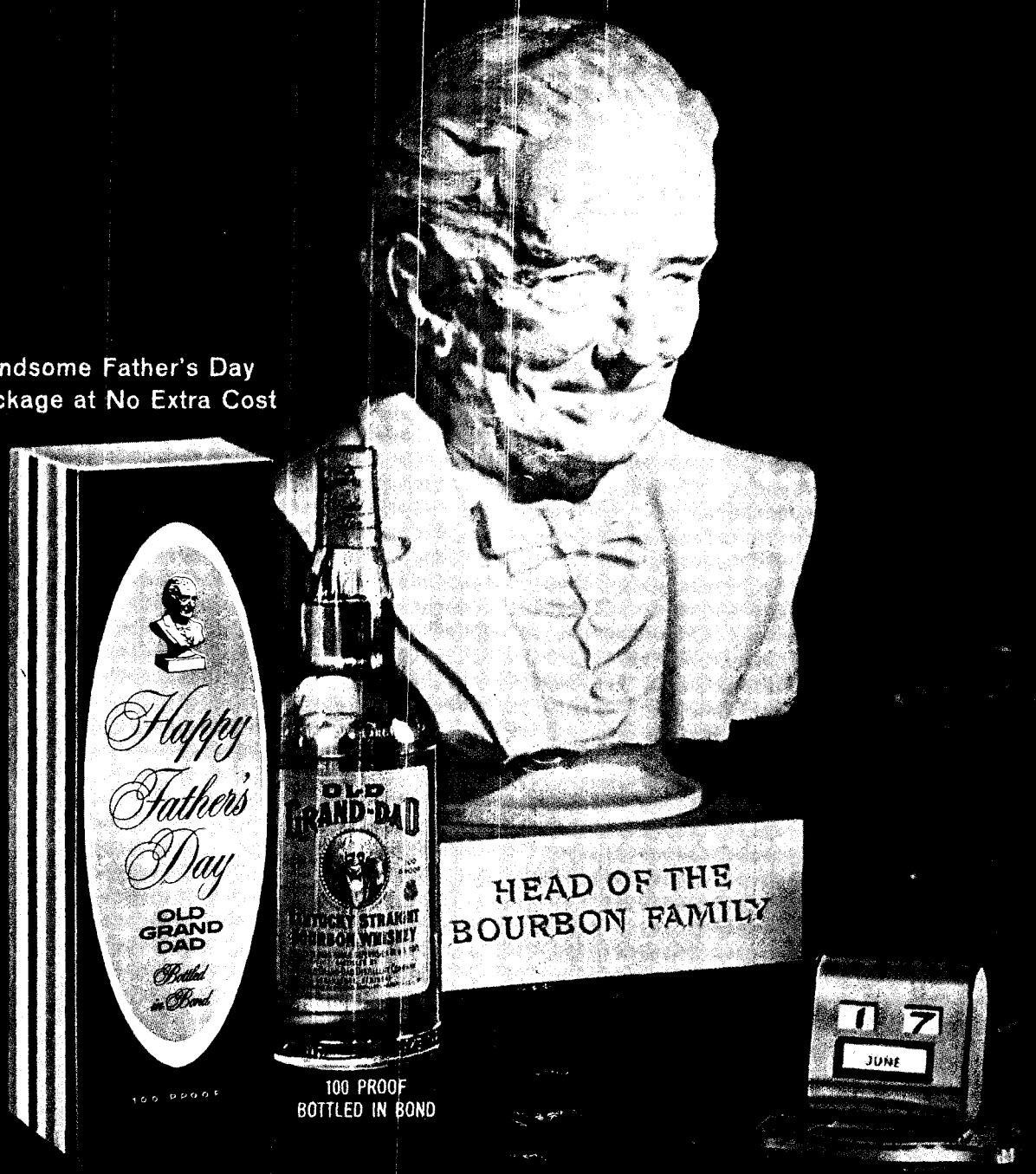

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THE OLD GRAND-DAD DISTILLERY COMPANY, FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY

Old Grand-Dad

HEAD OF TH[illegible] FAMILY

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